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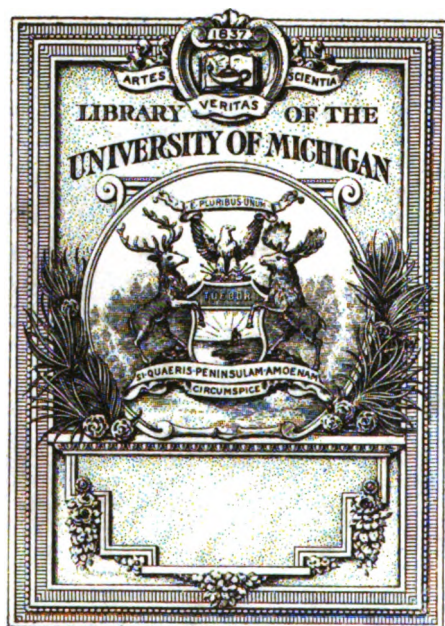
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POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

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EDMUND J. JAMES.      EMORY R. JOHNSON.

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PHILADELPHIA,  
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.  
1898.



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ANNALS  
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THE STUDY AND TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF 1898.

The members of the American Academy of Political and Social Science are so widely scattered geographically that the Committee on Meetings decided early in 1897 to hold an annual meeting made up of several sessions on consecutive days. Such a meeting it was hoped would prove a sufficient attraction to bring members from a distance who would not feel justified in coming to Philadelphia for a single session. Just as in the beginning several papers on topics without any necessary relation to each other were presented at the ordinary sessions, though later it was found expedient to limit the discussions at any one session to a single topic, so at the first annual meeting, held in April, 1897, there were four sessions each with a distinct topic. In planning for the annual meeting of 1898 the committee adopted a policy which departed somewhat radically from the usual procedure at annual gatherings and conventions. It was decided to have one general topic for all the sessions, with closely related sub-topics for the several separate sessions. We believed that whatever our program might lose in general attractiveness and drawing power in respect to numbers, it

would more than gain in effectiveness and in permanent scientific value.

Of course for the first experiment in this line it was necessary to select as broad a topic as possible. In view of the fact that the International Institute of Sociology at its third congress held in Paris in July, 1897, had devoted the major part of its time to a discussion of the scope and method of sociology, it was proposed to present the results of American thought and experience along the same lines as those brought out at Paris, but arranged particularly with a view to supplementing that discussion. The topic chosen therefore was: "The Study and Teaching of Sociology."

#### I. THE PRACTICAL VALUE OF SOCIOLOGY.

Professor Franklin H. Giddings, of Columbia University, the foremost representative of sociology as a specialty in the American academic world and one of the vice-presidents of the Academy, was invited by the Committee on Meetings to deliver the annual address at the opening session held on the evening of April 11.

Dr. Giddings chose for his topic a question which lies at the root of all the discussion in America, both inside and out of academic circles, concerning the status of sociology, namely, "The Practical Value of Sociology." Much of the opposition to this new science, especially that which is represented by some of the great American daily papers, is of course inspired by the feeling that sociological investigation may lead to discoveries inimical to existing and vested rights in property and to established customs in our political, educational and religious life. While this constitutes the real reason why the representatives of vested rights view with some apprehension the growing interest in sociological research, curiously enough the greatest popular demand for such work has come, not from the extreme radicals, but from many very conservative quarters, especially from those engaged in social reform of various kinds with a view to

improving and making tolerable the present social régime. This combination of circumstances has very generally raised the question as to the practical results to be obtained from the study of sociological literature.

Dr. Giddings began his address with a reference to the paper which Dr. Ernst Mach read at the Vienna meeting in 1894 of the German Association of Naturalists and Physicians, in which he recalled the definition of mechanics given by Kirchhoff twenty years previously. This definition which said that mechanics is "the description, in complete and very simple terms, of the motions occurring in nature," created general astonishment in scientific circles, because no reference was made in a definition of the most exact and most advanced science to explanation, prediction and to the search for first principles or causes as the criteria of science. Dr. Giddings commented on the meaning of scientific description as used by Kirchhoff and maintained that explanation, prediction and formulation of laws are nothing more nor less than that description which puts together facts in a coherent system or continuum which accurately corresponds to the coherent system or continuum of reality.

Again, referring to Mach and Kirchhoff, it was stated that the object of science is to extend description, in the scientific sense of the word, "until it includes all knowable facts of matter, life, mind and society, and places each fact in its proper place in the complete system."

Continuing, Dr. Giddings says:

"This conception of science—the only one which a critical examination of the nature of our knowledge permits us to entertain, clearly reveals the exact practical value of science. As science approaches perfection, the description of the cosmos becomes continuous. We discover that every known fact has points of contact, in co-existence and in sequence, with other known facts. The lines and colors in our chart of the universe are not drawn or splashed at random; they lie before the mental vision in a marvelous order of gradations, proportions, series and systems. All the facts in any part of our chart are seen to be related to all facts in every other part.

"So we arrive at the conception of nature as a system of interdependent facts. This conception once reached, we perceive exactly what we mean when we say that science enables us to predict combinations of facts not hitherto observed. Convinced by what we already know, that our further description of nature will not derange the system already apparent in our chart, we expect that further knowledge will merely continue the curves already partly drawn, without changing their equations, fill in unknown terms of series without changing their formulæ, and supply shades of color that will not disturb the scheme already apparent. Science thus enables us to anticipate facts not yet actually observed. If, then, we admit that science is description and that description both reveals and presupposes the interdependence of the descriptive elements, we can accept the theoretical and practical conclusion at which Dr. Mach arrives, that science completes in thought facts that are only partly given.

"This conclusion, I affirm, is no less practical than theoretical, because if such is the nature and function of science, science enables us to accommodate our conduct or policy to combinations of facts not yet completely made, but which science assures us will, in the course of time, be made—at least approximately—in the world of reality. The more nearly perfect our description of any part of that world becomes, the more closely may we adapt our plans, not only to the things that now are, but to the things that shall be hereafter."

If the word "description" can properly characterize so advanced a science as mechanical physics, Dr. Giddings maintains that it is broad enough to characterize the comparatively new and as yet very imperfect science of sociology.

"To make our description of human society more accurate, more coherent, is a task grand enough to awaken the enthusiasm and inspire the labor of any man who has enough of the scientific spirit to justify a career of sociological investigation;" and a sufficient definition of sociology is that it is "a scientific description of society."

It would seem from the above account that Dr. Giddings is willing boldly to claim that sociology is a fundamental and general science of associated life and activity, which is to be justified by its practical results measured by its successes in detecting and discovering facts hitherto overlooked or neglected by the more special social sciences. It may be noted, however, that the view here put forth makes

definite provision for the use of both the deductive and inductive methods of research.

In the next place, Dr. Giddings discussed some of the descriptive elements of sociology and their practical value for the determination of private conduct and public policy, and in this connection discussed the question, what is society? and what does it stand for in our every day use of the term? The answer to this question furnishes the starting point for descriptive analysis.

"Nearly two thousand years ago, one of the most gifted men of any age found himself under the immediate necessity of trying, for a great practical purpose, to single out and force upon the attention of mankind the most essential, persistent and formative fact of human society. That man was the Apostle Paul. He had been converted to a new religion; and had become its chief interpreter and missionary. Accepting the duty which circumstances and his own nature placed before him, of attempting to spread and organize the new faith throughout the known world, he was compelled to examine with the utmost care the question of the social form in which this new interest should be incorporated. All of the older religions against which Christianity was to make headway had grown into elaborate social systems, with their priesthoods, their carefully graded ranks or classes of believers, their rituals and festivals. Against their formalism Christianity protested. Its own social principle, like its individual principle, must be inward and spiritual, rather than external and legal. We may well believe that during those three years which the Apostle spent in retirement in Arabia, working out the details of his system, he gave most serious thought to this social aspect of his problem. It was necessary for him to find a psychological fact or principle of social organization which should be also universal, as true for the Roman as for the Jew, for the Barbarian as for the Greek; so simple that the bondman no less than the free could grasp it, yet so rich in possibilities that the philosophical disputants of Mars Hill and the practical lawyers on the Capitoline might be expected to accept and develop it. What, then, was the social fact that this subtle thinker and eminently practical man under such circumstances, fixed upon as essential and all-comprehensive?

"It was the fact of like-mindedness. Over and over in his Epistles he forces this fact upon the attention of his readers, and warns them to give heed to it. 'Be of the same mind one towards another,' he says to the Romans; and in the same Epistle he prays for them that

they may be of the same mind; that with one accord and with one mouth they may glorify their God. The Corinthians he beseeches to 'speak the same thing;' to 'have no divisions' among them; that they may be 'perfected together in the same mind and in the same judgment.' And the Philippians he implores to 'stand fast in one spirit, with one soul;' to 'be of the same mind, having the same love, being of one accord.' That it was in truth Paul who first seized upon this social principle for practical purposes, we have positive proof. Only in two other places, outside of the writings of Paul, can any allusion to it be found in either the Old or the New Testament. One is in the first Epistle of Peter, where the expression 'finally, be ye all like-minded' is so exactly the phraseology of Paul that we can hardly doubt that it was borrowed from him. The other is in Revelations where ten kings are spoken of as having one mind. That Paul himself derived the suggestion from the Greeks is highly probable, since Aristotle, in the 'Ethics,' quotes the saying that 'birds of a feather flock together,' and recalls a contention of Empedocles that 'like desires like.' But so far as we know, neither Greek nor Jew before Paul ever singled out this principle as the all-essential fact to be remembered in the development of any plan of social organization.

"Was Paul right in his selection of the essential social fact? Speaking only for myself, and leaving other investigators of society to form their own conclusions from all available evidence, I must say that after many years of persistent thought upon this question, I am fully persuaded that he was absolutely and profoundly right. If this is true, we have at once our provisional definition of society—the conception from which we go forward to a more complete description. The like-mindedness upon which Paul insists is known and understood to be such by the individuals who share it. Not only do A and B agree in their thoughts, feelings, purposes; but both A and B are aware of their agreement. Moreover, they perceive that agreement is pleasurable; that the fruits of concord are happiness and peace; that discord is wretchedness, and is liable to end in misery and disunion. They strive, as Paul enjoins them, to be without divisions, and to be perfected together in the same mind and the same judgment. What then is a society? Obviously, it is any number of like-minded individuals, who know and enjoy their like-mindedness, and are therefore able to work together for common ends."

Even the societies, which seem to have a physical rather than a psychological basis of existence, such as villages, cities and nations, are still natural aggregations of people which have developed a social organization because of like-



mindfulness. This is the essence of a political system. The practical value of this first step in the scientific description of society is, then, said to be a scientific justification of "that instinct of mankind which opposes a rapid influx of alien elements into any existing population which is fairly homogeneous, and which resists all heresy, schism, and dissension when carried beyond a certain point." This scientific description of society, however, must also give an account of variation. Like-mindedness is the cause of all social stability, and unlike-mindedness the cause of social variation. Changes for better or for worse depend on the introduction of new types of character, new ways of thinking, new habits and new ambitions.

"Progress, in short, is the continuous harmonizing of a continually appearing unlikeness of feeling, thought and purpose in the community with a vast central mass of already established agreements. Thus we arrive at the second practical value of sociology. It enables us to see that while a fundamental harmony of beliefs and interests must, if possible, be maintained in any social population or artificial social organization; and while it may, at times, be necessary to check a too rapid inflow of alien elements; or a too radical development of dissenting opinions, in themselves immigration and dissent are necessary and good, and are to be welcomed just to the extent that they can be assimilated. Their function is to leaven the lump, not to explode it."

In the next place, the annual address discussed the methods of social change. It was stated that a great deal of social progress goes on as quietly and unconsciously as the growth of a forest.

"Slight differences of nationality are assimilated; minor peculiarities of manner are imitated; modifications of opinion are effected until, in the course of time, a really important metamorphosis of society has taken place, and no one can tell exactly how."

Other changes, however, like the Puritan rebellion in England, the American revolution of 1776, the ratification of the federal constitution, the abolition of negro slavery, and the establishment of the French republic, come only as

a result of the voluntary and combined action of great masses of men. Such rapid transformations are due either to impulsive, unreasoning social action, of which the mob is an illustration, or to deliberation and discussion.

"Sociology, by its more accurate description of the conditions and processes of mob action, can add nothing to the repugnance which all calm-minded men feel toward such outbreaks of the brute nature that still survives in man. Nevertheless, the sociological description of the mob contributes two new elements of great practical value to our knowledge of this subject. The first is a demonstration that in all cases of impulsive outbreak the transition from violent talk to violent action is first made by the irrepressible quasi-criminal elements of the population. Riots, insurrections, revolutions, rarely begin with the striking of a well-directed blow by a disciplined force, under the command of a far-seeing and cool-headed leader. They begin with assaults, thefts and homicides, with volleys of stones, with random shootings and stabbings, with the looting of shops, and the lynching of opponents. History teems with examples. . . . The absolute impossibility of checking, until it has run its course, any mob action that has once fairly begun, has now been fairly established as a demonstrated sociological principle; and this is the second element which an accurate scientific description of society adds to our knowledge of the non-reasoning or impulsive modes of social transformation. From the moment that reason finally loses its control over masses of communicating men they instantly fall under the power of imitation and hypnotic suggestion; and emotional fury sweeps through them with increasing volume and accelerating velocity, as a conflagration sweeps through accumulations of combustible material. Impulsive social action, in short, proceeds not slowly through the mass, as water filters through sand, but with the frightful acceleration of a geometrical progression. This law has been fully established by psychological and sociological research, and it is no more open to doubt than is the law of gravitation. No fact of social knowledge is of greater practical importance. The only way to prevent the devastating consequences of epidemic madness is to multiply in the community the number of those men who habitually subordinate feeling to reason, and who, therefore, cannot become a part of the combustible material of the mob spirit. . . .

"Under what conditions are irrationality, hypnotic susceptibility, willingness to follow without question or resistance any suggested course of action most likely to prevail in the community? Are we maintaining educational influences or agencies whose certain

tendency is to multiply the number of unreasoning, impulsive members of society? When our question is put in this way I cannot doubt that you will immediately foresee the answer that must be made. In the name of religion, society for generations has cherished a dangerous influence, and has encouraged the practice of arts that menace the happiness and the further progress of mankind. Of all mistaken teachers in the community the professional revivalist is most to be feared. The revival meeting is, and always has been, the chief school of impulsive action. Throughout human history the revival has been the foster mother of the mob. . . . The methods of the professional revivalist are those of the professional hypnotizer. The only difference is that they are somewhat more refined, and keep their machinery a little more out of sight. The revivalist tells his hearers that their reason is the most deadly enemy of their souls; that the deliberating, critical habit of mind endangers their eternal salvation; that their only safety lies in immediately acting upon the impulse which he is striving to awaken in their bosoms. . . . Do you expect that men and women who surrender themselves to the influence of such teaching in the revival meeting will act coolly, reasonably and courageously in the affairs of secular life? Do you suppose that those who yield unresistingly to the impassioned appeal of the exhorter will be unmoved by the harangue of the partisan 'whoop-er-up,' or resist the impulse to follow blindly the lead of the boss who, like his religious preceptor, exacts unquestioning obedience, and visits condign punishment upon the skeptic? Certainly you do not; and the longer you think this matter over the more fully satisfied will you become of the truth of this conclusion which, I venture to assert, is one of the fundamental truths of a scientific description of society: that so long as revivalism is possible the overthrow of Plattism, Crokerism and Quayism will be impossible. Let us not deceive ourselves with the belief that we can make men irrational, impulsive, hypnotic creatures for the purposes of religion, and then expect them to be cool-headed, critical, rational men for the purposes of politics."

Dr. Giddings went on to say that the chief element in social control in communities where reason and deliberation flourish, is the criticism of social values, understanding the term "social value" to be the regard or esteem which we feel for any social habit, relation or institution, measured as to intensity by the sacrifices which we are willing to make for it. Thus, social values like economic values, "are determined by a process of comparison extended

throughout the entire range of possible utilities and costs." Sociology reveals two great orders of social values, namely, those that are ends to be attained and those that are simply means to the attainment of ends, a distinction analogous to economic categories in which goods are either for final consumption or used in production and described as capital.

"The objects of all endeavor, whether of individuals or of communities, are life, happiness and the development of our rational personality. Society itself is simply a means to those ends. . . . It should be one of the chief functions of the teacher of sociology to repeat and to insist until mankind does see and admit that customs, usages, institutions, parties, churches, creeds, have no sacredness in themselves, and no other warrant for their existence than may be found in their power to contribute, either to the safe and comfortable maintenance of human life, or to the further progress of the human mind in knowledge, power, reasonableness and moral perfection."

In the concluding portion of the annual address, Dr. Giddings maintained that the scientific description of society not only reveals the relativity of all our social arrangements, but gives a rough estimate of the comparative importance of means and ends. "I mean to affirm that all social institutions are related in a definite way to the fundamental social fact of like-mindedness; and that all criticism of social values must proceed with due reference to this condition." In illustrating this point, three popular and much discussed social values embodied in the phrase "liberty, equality and fraternity" were described. Reference was made to the position of Sir James Fitz-James Stephen who claimed that these three values are fundamentally irreconcilable, and that if equalities are maintained liberties must be sacrificed. Dr. Giddings said, "Actually, there have been innumerable small democracies here and there, and innumerable religious societies and fraternal organizations in which all three of these democratic ideals have, at the same time, been fairly well realized." Of course the terms were discussed as relative terms, and all that is meant is that approximation to equality and to liberty is sufficiently great to outweigh the

inequalities and restraints. It was further noted that those communities and social organizations which fairly well maintained both equality and liberty and reconciled them with a good degree of fraternity, were generally noted for their homogeneity; while those which have sacrificed either equality or liberty have been in a high degree heterogeneous. Thus, modern cities, like New York and Philadelphia, "have completely lost that approximate balance of liberty and equality which they originally maintained, and present to our view an astonishing medley of specific liberties and specific equalities, offset by inequalities and restrictions that our forefathers would have deemed inconceivable." The possible co-existence of these three ideals depends largely on their sequence, which the speaker maintained had always been equality, fraternity, liberty.

"Only as a certain degree of equality is maintained can there be homogeneity or like-mindedness. Nothing will so surely bring about an irreconcilable conflict of feeling and opinion as a great inequality of economic condition, of political status, or of educational opportunity. All of the great social conflicts of history have originated in inequality. . . . Just to the extent that there develops in the community an ethical spirit which leads us to resist the monopolization by the few of resources and opportunities that should be the common heritage of all mankind, to demand that our public school system of education shall be perfected, and that our laws shall be equally enforced, our nation may become republican in fact as in name and tradition."

In conclusion the speaker said: "I have now indicated many of the practical values of sociology. The list is by no means complete. I have only selected those chiefly important ones which are more immediately connected with the chiefly important propositions of sociological theory. Sociology enables us to govern, in a measure, the conditions on which social stability and social progress depend. It enables us to appreciate the profound distinction between impulsive and rational social change, and to discover the dangers that lurk in the practice of attaching the sanctions of religion to irrationality. In addition to all these services, sociology enables us to attempt a rational and constructive criticism of our social values, and to combine them in a realizable social ideal. It extends its scientific description of society into the past, and projects it into the future. Its forecast is no

impossible Utopia. It assumes that if the work of description is accurately done in the present, the sociologist of the future will have no occasion to substitute for it a wholly new system of facts; but will only complete the system already begun. In a word, the supreme practical value of sociology is that it, like every other science, completes in thought, for the daily guidance of mankind, a system of facts that, as yet, are only partly given."

The following is a brief summary of the discussion on the annual address, an opportunity being given for this purpose on the following day, April 12, at the morning session.

Professor LEO S. ROWE (University of Pennsylvania):—

"There are two questions of principle and one of fact, concerning which I am not perfectly certain whether I grasp the meaning which Professor Giddings intended to convey. In his analysis of the logic of social progress, my impression was that Professor Giddings regards concerted action resulting from impulse or feeling as essentially retrogressive in its influence upon the social or political conditions of the community, and that the kind of political action which will be progressive has its foundation in that conscious deliberation, that careful weighing of pleasures and pains, of cause and effect, of which he gave a number of instances. The first question that arises in my mind is whether the speaker intended to convey the idea that action resulting from feeling is the same thing as action resulting from impulse. The second question relates to his analysis of the fact that, in our American communities, we find certain influences—of which he gave a specific instance in boss rule—largely forming and influencing our present political conditions. As I understood the speaker, the explanation of many of our political evils is to be found in the dominance of unreasoning action in our community. One of the reasons for boss rule is the fact that large classes in the community find it to be to their personal gain or profit to act in subservience to boss rule, and this is the idea which is usually accepted. Is it Professor Giddings' idea that the boss represents a kind of ideal personality to the average individual and that he is willing to throw his lot with that particular individual who represents a force rather than with a person representing principles that appeal to his reason? My third question is a question of fact. That is, whether this increased like-mindedness, to which the speaker referred, is at the bottom of many of our political ideals and whether it offers the possibility for the realization of political ideals. Is this like-mindedness anything more than a state of mind which is determined by other considerations?

France at the present day while homogeneous has in no sense realized political liberty. But the forces which have been at work in France, where you have great like-mindedness, are to be explained mainly on the basis of certain peculiarities in French national character, which are the result of French historical development."

Professor GIDDINGS :—

"I think the first two questions can be answered together and in the same way, if I understand Professor Rowe's inquiry. I do not hold that all progressive action necessarily follows from a weighing and calculation of pleasures and pains, of costs and utilities. I hold that the greater part of all progressive action proceeds from feeling. But, we may have any one of three states of mind in a man who is confronted with a new situation. He may receive a sudden stimulus and instantly react upon it by almost reflex action, not stopping at all to weigh and consider or criticise. He may receive the same shock, the same impulse and feel himself moved to act, but may pull himself together, study, criticise, think it over, and then perhaps act or not. Or, he may find himself confronted by a situation that does not move him to sudden purpose in the same way, but that calls upon him to reason, to weigh and consider, to calculate pleasures and pains. Now, the first and the last of these cases stand opposed to one another. In the first you have the man whose action is hardly more than reflex; in the last you have the man who is a cold-blooded utilitarian. The average man is the man who is moved, a great deal moved by the new situation that confronts him, whose first impulse is to act at once but who stops and considers. The actions that I discussed in my paper were these: Take the case of this second man, who is moved to act impulsively but who stops and thinks. You get two kinds of action out of this one situation, and from this average man under different circumstances. In the one case he leans strongly toward his first impulse, he forgets to criticise, he does not go on to weigh and consider, but acts impulsively. In the other case he still has the same impulse, but he does stop to weigh and consider. My point is, that most of the constructive changes in society are due to the actions of those who have a thinking, a critical habit of mind; those who stop to consider, to weigh, and to think things over. Sweep away this habit and you have the mob. The practical lesson is: Keep these habits of criticism well with you. When you have the impulse to reform and change things, be critical, be rational, be reasonable, then let your impulses act themselves out. This is my reply to the first and second questions.

"If I understand the third question I agree with Professor Rowe in his statement that like-mindedness is a particular state of mind and

that to make it potential you must have some outside forces to act upon it. In other words, you have like-mindedness when you have two persons or more who feel in the same way about a given thing; whose impulse is to act in the same way upon a given situation, or, who if they think it over, come to the same opinion about it. Now, that thing that they feel in the same way about may be anything at all. The thing upon which they agree, upon which they are like-minded, may be a common opinion that they like boss government. They may be the sort of people who, as has been said of the people of France, like centralization, and who do not care anything for individual liberty. Or, they may be the people of another nation who are agreed and who are like-minded in their love of individual liberty and in their impulse to defend it at any moment and at any price. In other words, you have like-mindedness when you have that likeness among any people which makes it practically certain that under the same circumstances they will act in the same way. That agreement may be, as I say, upon any subject. The like-mindedness may exist in any particular mental state; it may be in love of restraint, or it may be in love of liberty.

President CHARLES DEGARMO (Swarthmore College):—

"I had a query in my mind last night which has been partially answered by the questions and answers already given. A part of that query still remains, and that refers to the educational side of this question. The first query was, is not this like-mindedness more a feeling, a social feeling, than it is a social intelligence, and, if that is true, is it not perfectly legitimate to develop social feelings? The one instance was given of a bad social education, namely, that aroused by revivals. Now, I am just wondering whether that is at bottom a bad education. First of all, it is pre-eminently a social training, and the question whether it is bad or not will have to be determined not so much by a formal principle as by a condition of it. What sort of a social feeling does it develop? Where have the great mobs been? I think France is perhaps noted for that sort of phenomenon, and yet no one accuses the religious sentiment of that country of exerting any influence in this matter. The Catholic church is free from the revival spirit, which has belonged largely in the past to the Methodist church. It is now passing from that to the Salvation Army. It was characteristic of a primitive state of our society. The revival meetings were held, I should say, where the mob principle does not rule, and I cannot see, therefore, that there is very much force in that statement. We must take the conditions into consideration. The negroes in the South were mentioned as a people given to that sort of feeling, and yet if one looks at the South one sees that it is not among the people who



attend revivals that this feeling exists, but among the people who do not participate in these revivals. The mobs are from the whites in the South and not from the negroes. I should, therefore, like to have a little further light upon this point; how largely the sort of feeling must be taken into consideration, and whether an appeal to feeling is a bad thing and taking the people in a wrong way."

Professor GIDDINGS:—

"I think I detect three questions in the remarks made by Dr. DeGarmo. The first is, whether like-mindedness is chiefly a matter of feeling or of intelligence. It is neither. It is at the bottom a like-responsiveness to the same impulse; the fundamental psychological fact of sensation and reaction. If, as I have elsewhere expressed it, two children are simultaneously, or not necessarily simultaneously, but in like manner, pleased by the color red, these two children are to that extent psychologically alike. Or, to take a different example, if one hundred men sell securities on a rumor of war, they are affected in the same way by the same impulse. Like-mindedness is a similarity of brain and nervous organization, so that two or more men respond in the same way to the same impulse; consequently, you may get either feeling or intelligence in your like-mindedness as a secondary fact.

"As to the point brought up by Dr. DeGarmo in reference to the Roman Catholic church, I should say that this church, in Spain, for instance, has certainly shown antagonism to the revival spirit. But Spain shows to-day the result of simply another method of accomplishing the same thing that the revival spirit accomplishes. I say that revival work is deleterious in its effects not on account of its appeal to feeling as such, but because that appeal is coupled with the statement that a man must act first and think afterward. That is just what the Roman Catholic church teaches; you must obey authority first, and you must not criticise; you must do as you are told. That, too, is what the revivalist says; put aside criticism! do not think!

"I now come to the question of the negroes and mobs in the South. If you will take the trouble to make two maps of the United States and locate on one of them the places where, all through the years preceding the civil war, and immediately after the civil war, revivals were carried on in the most thoroughgoing fashion among the whites, and on the other locate the places where the lynchings have taken place in the last ten years, you will find that those maps agree."

Professor ROBERT LAIRD STEWART (Lincoln University):—

"I think we shall all agree that where there is fanaticism the outcome cannot be good, but only evil. We know that there is a great deal of that for lack of knowledge, in connection with the so-called revivals among the negroes of the South. I must say, however, that I

think it is hardly fair to present that as an instance of what is really meant by revival influence in general in our day. It seems to me it is wrong to couple the work that Mr. Moody has been doing with that kind of influence. I have felt that one statement ought not to go unchallenged in the address of Professor Giddings, to which I listened with great pleasure, and that was in connection with revival meetings. We must look at this thing in its immediate bearing upon society, for we are here to investigate the influences that bear upon the good of the community. As a matter of fact anything that is uplifting in its nature in individual cases will be a benefit to society. I have frequently been on the track of Mr. Moody, as he has passed through this country and other countries, and I am here to testify that a blessed influence has followed his work, a work which has been going on for over thirty years. The great revival of 1857 that swept over this land resulted in good. I could take you to communities that have been awakened and uplifted by that influence, and are now the most law-abiding communities in our land. In Western Pennsylvania to-day good results for society are still seen from the movements which were started in the time of that great revival. Spiritual influences are the greatest uplifting power we have. I wish to say also that I have never heard an address from Mr. Moody, or from others who were laboring earnestly to bring men to Christ, in which they have demanded that men should surrender themselves without thought. They are asked to think and to choose; and I have heard from Mr. Moody's lips and from his associates some of the most earnest presentations of truth that men might think and might act. They plead with men to consider their ways; to repent of sin; to search the Scriptures; to choose between right and wrong, Christ and Belial. The results which have followed are not due to hypnotic influences, but the divine power which accompanies the presentation of truth. These effects have followed the preaching of the gospel since the day of Pentecost."

MR. JOHN J. CHAPMAN (New York):—

"I am on the side of the revivalist. I cannot see what any of us are at except to work for the good of the individual, and I am unable to believe that Professor Giddings, or any one who has as much obvious benevolence in his appearance, cares for anything else. It is all a question of how this thing is manifested. The Salvation Army is the religious expression of this feeling and acts as a means of individual growth to a certain type of man."

Professor JOHN J. McNULTY (College of the City of New York):—

"Of course I feel compelled, as every one else who listened to Professor Giddings' address, to testify to its excellence. There is a

certain quality of mind, however, which Professor Giddings has failed to consider, and that is the mind of the genius. Such a mind displays one fact and that is that the genius acts on the impulse. How, therefore, would he qualify his statement in order to make room for the spirit of the genius in relation to social progress?"

Rev. SAMUEL J. DIKE, D. D. (Auburndale, Mass.):—

"How would the sociologist regard the men of genius and the men of the highest culture who act both from feeling and intelligence, with a more or less proportionate distribution of the two? I would ask if it is not the combination of these two qualities which gives us the different grades of society?"

Rev. R. I. HOLAIND, S. J. (Woodstock College, Maryland):—

"I wish to qualify a statement of Professor Giddings. There are occasions when a man is not obliged to deliberate before acting. He need not think and consider a long time before paying a debt for instance. A man must be sure that an impulse is right and that the command comes from the right authority, and deliberation is not then always necessary."

Professor GIDDINGS:—

"As to the method by which we are to control impulsive action in the community, that is a question which is directly related to what was asked in regard to the classes of society by Dr. Dike, and with what was asked about the genius by Dr. McNulty. I think that I perfectly agree with what Dr. Dike and Professor McNulty say. I think with Dr. Dike that we do have just those gradations in society, and I think with Professor McNulty that the genius is quite a distinct element in our problem and that he largely does act from impulse, and that it is only some time after he has acted that we begin to analyze the result. The answer that I have to make in regard to the genius really contains the answer to all the other questions.

"Not so very long ago an Italian anthropologist wrote an interesting book in which he tried to prove that the genius is a kind of lunatic. I am sure we do not accept that conclusion. But it is true that men of genius are in their nervous organization very often extremely like men of unbalanced mind, and it is moreover true that men of genius very often become lunatics. There seems to be a connection between the two which we are not able to understand; yet the community does discriminate in regard to two classes of men who claim to be geniuses, or who are regarded as geniuses by some one or other. It says some of those men are geniuses and some are cranks. How does society decide? Does it decide by impulse? It does not; it decides by criticism. All that we mean by sound progress in art, literature and music is summed up in two words: the genius, and the criticism of the

works of genius. All that I have to say just now is this: that we cannot get on in society, we do not want to get on in society, without the man of feeling, without the man of impulse, without the man of genius. They are the motive forces that carry society on to higher and better things, but we must know in what direction we are going. We must know whether the impulse we follow is a right impulse; we must know whether the authority is a right authority. I also want to say that the objections which I raised were to the methods of the revivalist, not to revivals, and what I have to say about those methods is that they destroy the spirit of calm, critical inquiry. It is necessary for society to know whether we are going right or wrong. And, finally, I may say in reply to one other question, namely, shall we stop and consider before paying a debt, that if there is any doubt in my mind as to whether I owe the debt I shall stop and think over it for a long time."

At the fourth and last session, on Wednesday morning, April 13, the topic of the relation of sociology to philanthropy was discussed. Dr. Frederick H. Wines, secretary of the State Board of Charities in Illinois, and the special agent on pauperism and crime of the United States census in 1880 and 1890, opened the discussion with a paper on "Sociology and Philanthropy," which was read by the present writer in Dr. Wines' absence. Dr. Wines expected to be in attendance, but was prevented by the urgent relief work at Shawnee, Ill., which was placed in his charge. His paper is printed in full in this number of the ANNALS, and should be read in connection with this report. Dr. Wines made an earnest plea not for the identification of sociology and philanthropy, but for the mutual recognition on the part of students and workers of the aid which each group can render to the other through intimate and friendly relations being established. Dr. E. T. Devine, secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York City, was expected to speak on the recent "Results of Sociological Investigation in Practical Philanthropy," but though in attendance at the earlier sessions of the annual meeting, Dr. Devine was taken sick while here and we were deprived of the pleasure of listening to him on a subject with which he

is so familiar. Miss Mary E. Richmond, secretary of the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore, came next on the program, and spoke on the "Training of Philanthropic Workers," the point of contact *par excellence* between students of sociology and practical workers in philanthropy. The following is a partial report of Miss Richmond's remarks, together with a summary of the subsequent discussion:

"In taking up the subject of 'The Training of Philanthropic Workers' I am going to limit myself to paid charity workers. The training of voluntary workers is quite a different matter. First of all, what is the position of paid charity workers to-day? I think it can be safely said that there is an absence of any standard among such workers. It is true that some have received highly specialized training in their own department; for instance, where medical and charity work overlap. Also, there are skilled nurses engaged in district work, but very often they have had no training whatever as charity workers. Take our institutions that demand a medical superintendent; the superintendent generally sacrifices the charity side to the medical side at every turn. He has a very definite standard as far as medicine is concerned, but lacks a standard in charity work.

"Then I have noticed among our charity workers an absence even of a common language, not to mention the like-mindedness of which we heard yesterday. For instance, we had an experience recently: A trained kindergartner, who had done a great deal of charity work in Baltimore, was approached on the subject of a certain family where, in the opinion of the Charity Organization Society, the daughter was neglecting the mother. The mother was a dependent, and the daughter was assuming no responsibility whatever. The kindergartner was helping the family, and we asked her whether the daughter ought not to be required to help the mother. 'Oh, no,' she said, 'that would pauperize the daughter.' We were looking at the problem from two different points of view while dealing with the same family. She evidently thought that a reduction of income meant pauperism. We felt that pauperism was a deterioration of character; that it was a habit of mind rather than a condition of pocketbook. This same kindergartner was helping a family where there was a very bright little girl, and she allowed this child to report to her the material needs of the family. The object of the kindergarten, as I understand it, is symmetrical development; yet she looked upon the child as the head of the family, and placed the mother and father quite in the background.

I simply cite these as illustrations of the fact that charity workers lack a common terminology and a common aim. However intelligent these workers may be, however skilled in their own department, they lack that knowledge of the relation of the parts to the whole which is necessary to do effective work.

"Though the kindergartner and the nurse get special training, I may add that the greater number of charity workers receive no training whatever. No training is provided in charity organization work, although that is becoming a highly specialized department. The need of training in this department of work has become so urgent that some societies have a sort of training school for their own agents. In Baltimore, formerly, when we were in search of a person to put in charge of a district office, we looked the field over for a middle-aged woman desirous of doing good in the world, but now, like the other large societies, we take agents in training. They are trained for a period of six or eight months before they are allowed to do any work at all, except under immediate supervision and direction.

"The present plan does not meet all our needs, however. To do charity organization work it is necessary to have not only a knowledge of the details of that work, but a general outlook on the whole field. It is necessary to secure co-operation with other societies and to have a sympathetic knowledge of their point of view; to have an understanding of the principles and difficulties of relief work and institutional work. This can only be brought about by systematic training.

"I know half a dozen charities that are seeking trained, paid leadership, and at the present time there seems to be no adequate supply of such workers. The colleges are turning out young men who have had some training in the theory of charity work, but these young men have had an expensive training and are looking forward to departments of work that offer higher rewards than charity workers receive. In the second place, the young man just out of college has had a pretty thorough equipment in theory but lacks knowledge on many practical points that the charity worker needs to have. He must have had experience of life among the poor, but he also needs a knowledge of life at first hand. The young man who has been given a position at the head of charitable societies has not always known how to deal with the business man, with the church worker and others with whom he has come in contact, and he has sometimes been a failure for this reason. In fact, no two charity organization societies are exactly alike; they must vary, and so the successful worker must adapt himself to the peculiar conditions of his own society.

"The question is, how are we going to get trained workers? The only suggestion I have to offer is the establishment of a training

school for paid charity workers, a training school where teaching and training should go hand-in-hand. The school should be located in a large city where practical work would be plentiful. Its teachers should be university graduates who have had adequate training in the social sciences, but who, at the same time, have had practical work in charities—just as much practical work as theory. They should be prepared to study and adapt themselves to the needs of the charities of the country. Such a school should be endowed, and might either be connected with some university in a large city, or else, and preferably, as I believe, might be quite independent. There is this objection to any academic connection: a great institution of learning casts a big shadow; and the immediate needs of the charities might not be so much considered as the traditions of the institution.

"I should like to see the school provide systematic training for workers in many branches of charity. Co-operation becomes natural when you have taken training side-by-side in institutional work and in the work of relief societies, charity organization societies and child-saving agencies; there are a number of things that ought to be learned in common. Such training should be begun by giving certain courses to all alike; then the classes could be divided and specialized later. The plan is, of course, as yet, very vague; but carried out properly it would meet a growing demand.

"It occurred to me that a theory, and a rather vague theory at that, might properly be brought here. Before most audiences it would be necessary for me to have found not only the endowment, but the right leader for such work before I could get a hearing for the plan. No such necessity limits me here. I hope you will criticise the plan very freely, for we charity workers need the trained thinking that you can bring to bear upon it."

Professor C. S. WALKER:—

"I should like to ask Miss Richmond whether the training schools in connection with the Young Men's Christian Associations, the College for Training in Christian Science in Springfield, Mass., and such kindred institutions supply at all the demand for these trained workers?"

Miss RICHMOND:—

"I have examined the curriculum of the college at Springfield, to which you refer, and I should say that it did not meet our demand. There are still members of the Young Men's Christian Association who do not approve of the trained secretaries. They claim that when the trained secretary goes into a small town he expects too many things. This, it seems to me, is an admirable endorsement of the school in a way. If the school trains the secretaries to want more,

they will get more; it is clear that they have a high ideal of what a secretary should be and do. The school I have outlined, however, must meet other needs."

Mr. F. H. McLEAN (Fellow in Sociology, University of Pennsylvania):

"While I fully agree with Miss Richmond's statement that special training is necessary it has always been a question with me whether the necessity for a separate school for that training exists. It seems to me that you could not get the full advantage from a school of this kind. We, in a way, need to obtain an outlook of much that falls outside of ordinary charities. In the last few years Professor Giddings has gotten his students interested in a number of specialized subjects in New York City. However, I would not at this moment say that that would fully meet the need.

"It was my fortune last year to make a directory of the charities in one of the larger cities of the country. It was surprising to see how many heads of different charities there were who did not know what the object of their charity was. In many cases they filled up a sheet or two in describing special objects of their organization but without any conception of the central thought about which that organization was built. In regard to a point suggested by the paper of Dr. Wines, it is interesting to note the stages in mental development in practical workers who have had very little theoretical training. This is particularly true of voluntary workers. At the beginning they look at everything from a personal standpoint, having no idea of what the final results of their acts will accomplish in so far as the spiritual side of those human beings with whom they come in contact is concerned. With greater experience they begin to see that it is not a mere matter of satisfying material wants. They then have reached the second stage and accept general principles which they apply to all cases which appear to come within the sphere of those principles. Of course that is a better state of mind than the first, but still imperfect. No true charity worker can go on without recognizing the fact that exceptions to rules are about as frequent as the cases in which they apply. The third stage, where the psychological analysis of the character of those with whom they are dealing is required, is hard for these practical workers to attain, even though they have been in the work for a long time. A theoretical training is necessary, therefore, to master these three stages."

Rev. Dr. SAMUEL W. DIKE (Auburndale, Mass.):—

"Our women's colleges are turning out large numbers of bright, enthusiastic, well-trained young women, who, as a general thing, have been seeking employment as teachers. They tell me that the



number of applicants is far out-running the number of positions. Since social science is being taught in our women's colleges and in co-educational institutions, we find that our women's clubs, which were formerly interested in literature, history and art, are beginning to attack social questions. I should like to know how far these institutions are providing for the training of women along this line. It has seemed to me that this would be one of the channels where college trained women would find a place."

Miss RICHMOND:—

"The experience of some of the leaders in Boston charities has led them to think that the women who have just come out of college are, generally, not a success in this work. They feel that the young woman just out of college has been removed from life and its normal relations for four or five years, and that until she gets readjusted and has had some first-hand experience of life, she is an impractical person in charitable work. The young women just out of college are not in a position to take leading places as paid workers and are not willing to begin at the bottom, although that, practically, is where they belong. Even an elderly church missionary, who has never heard of charitable or social theory, can go far ahead of these beginners in realizing and relieving the actual needs of a distressed family."

Professor E. J. JAMES (Chicago University):—

"I feel that the question being discussed is an extremely important one and that the two sides have been well brought out. The college graduate who finishes his course and who has any particular taste for this branch of subjects is looking forward to a career with a higher salary. The college graduate who is willing to take such a position for a year or two should expect a small salary. They are really not worth anything in the first year or two of their work, and they ought to be willing to pay for the experience they are getting. As a general thing they take such positions only for a time and know that they will not continue in that work. My observation bears out the view that Miss Richmond has expressed, namely, that in such work we do not get hold of the men who are worth anything. I should say that so long as women are satisfied with a smaller return for their services than men are, we have at least the possibility of finding efficient workers in the ranks of cultivated college women. What the university is actually doing for the training of young men and women in these subjects, I would like to hear from Dr. Lindsay who has had a special interest in this problem under conditions which are extremely favorable. He has been trying to solve a part of the problem."

DR. LINDSAY:—

"I have no doubt that a special school is needed for the training of

a certain class of persons who are to engage in charity work, especially paid workers, and that it will come in time. But, it seems to me that a more important question is how to provide for the very much larger number of individuals who want a little training, largely for voluntary work, and who could not be taken into a special school without spoiling the very idea of the school, but who can be made a hundred times more useful if they get a little training. In the first place, the college and the university should provide some training in these practical lines for all students whether they expect to take up this work or not. By this means it will be possible to stir up their interest in the questions of practical philanthropy which are being worked out. At the University of Pennsylvania we are trying to do this in the Wharton School; part of the instruction consisting of courses in practical sociology and social economics. One great difficulty, which has already been alluded to in our discussions, is the lack of suitable text-books to be used in work of this kind.

"A second way that this training might be provided for other than by the special school proposed, would be by the opening up of special courses in our colleges and universities. We have already broken up by the elective system the old idea of the courses in a college being a fixed thing. The elective system, however, has its weak point in one direction, namely, that every pupil is not wise enough to choose in the very best way for himself. The professor in charge, or the dean of the department has a large number of students to look after and cannot give much personal attention to an individual who desires to map out the best possible course looking to a definite career. Parents, as a rule, have not the ability to give the needed advice, and the student is at a loss to choose the very best combination of things. In our large universities we want a number of courses looking toward special ends. We need to have a number of combinations in our curriculum; one combination of a certain set of subjects being suited to those who expect to go into business, another combination suited to those who expect to go into law, still another for those who expect to go into practical philanthropic work, and so on. These courses should be combinations of highly specialized courses with a broad basis of general culture in the early years. The philanthropist talks about sociology as not being of much value to him. The course he has in mind may not be of value for his special work. He asks what the habits of primitive man have to do with practical philanthropy. But that kind of sociological course may be very useful to the future student of law and jurisprudence. The philanthropist needs a course in sociology adapted to his work. We want to get into each of these specialized courses a large number of subjects dealing with things that

will be of interest to persons looking forward to definite careers. Courses must be arranged by the colleges and universities which can be thrown open to persons who want some one thing without any reference to a degree as well as to students who are candidates in regular standing for a degree. In the graduate work of some institutions such provision is made.

"Another difficulty is to make those now engaged in philanthropic work see the need for a training other than they have had. I think that the Charity Organization Society will find that it has, in the long run, something to gain by offering its facilities to all students interested in the subject, and by devoting a little more time to encouraging students to co-operate with it. I have taken a number of students and placed them around in the different charity organization societies, selecting students who were willing to give a fair return in service for all they received. I have in mind one of my students who did a large amount of good work in the service of the Charity Organization Society, in New York, in return for the training he was getting out of it. Most of you are doubtless familiar with the plans announced this year in New York, where the Charity Organization Society offers to take a certain number of persons in its office for several weeks during the summer, assigning them certain work to do, and giving them the benefit of the records and of direct supervision. Another year they will go a step farther if this plan is successful, and have special instruction given to such persons. A number of lectures are to be given this year, but without any attempt to provide systematic courses.

"I think we have every reason to feel encouraged and to expect from the forces now at work in our colleges and universities that something will be materially added to practical work in charity; there is a broader outlook, a more scientific attitude toward these subjects. The demand for a special school exists and we must have that in time. Apart from that, however, is the other pressing problem of how to reach the large number of persons who constitute the existing army of practical voluntary workers."

Professor C. S. WALKER (State Agricultural College, Amherst, Mass):—

"I should like to ask what is the relation of the College Settlement houses, like the Hull House in Chicago, for instance, toward this question. There are a number of women living at these houses who are going out to do work in the alums."

Mr. F. H. MCLAN:—

"I should say that College and University Settlement work does undoubtedly give an outlook upon certain sorts of charities; but the

people that you meet in the University Settlement are not those that you most frequently meet in connection with the general charities of a city. Of course the idea of the University Settlement is simply to do away with artificial class distinctions, and the work is mostly with self-respecting people who are not in need of general charity. The number of those who can live at the University Settlement is small, and we could not, therefore, do a very extended work in this direction. One can get there an admirable outlook on social work, but is not confined to the charitable side of the question."

Mrs. SARA L. OBERHOLTZER (Philadelphia):—

"I believe in the school for training workers. I should like to call your attention, however, to the school savings banks which have been established in over 400 schools in the United States. In Girard College in this city, they have such a bank, and, according to a report received recently from Tacoma, Washington, one thousand children there had deposited \$200. The idea of such school savings banks is to train the children to save. If we train people to save we will not have so many paupers and will not need so many trained workers. If we will train the children, the children of the poor, to save small amounts of money and to use their money to the best advantage, there will be less need for charity workers."

Rev. R. I. HOLAND, S. J. (Woodstock College, Maryland):—

"The difficulty in charity work is in those who go into this work. Those who could be most useful, it seems to me, are medical students, law students and theological students, because they come in close contact with the poor more often than others. But, take medical students, for instance, what chances have they to make a living by making themselves agents of charitable institutions? They say a man must have technical knowledge if he wants to be very efficient, and, at the same time, a great many charities need persons with executive ability. It is difficult to find men who have both. I have seen a few cases in which the superintendent of an institution was a competent man, but comparatively few, because, generally, such men do not understand anything about business and the government of the house. I should say the chances of promotion in such work are much greater for those who have the foundation of knowledge in law or medicine."

Rev. WALTER LAIDLAW (New York City):—

"I should like to say a word about the difficulty of getting trained institutional workers. I have in mind one institution where it was found necessary in the course of four years to have as many superintendents. It was really impossible to go to any quarter of the country and to be certain of securing men of heart and mind combined. The question of the training of charity workers is a large problem, and I

am sure Miss Richmond has enabled me to realize that it is a larger problem than I had before imagined. In connection with what Dr. Lindsay said, I have thought that if we could have something introduced in this work parallel to the hospital appointments which now obtain in our medical colleges, we would to some extent be meeting the want. If we could have students appointed to charitable institutions, which were recognized by the universities to be of the first order of administrative work, to there receive a practical training, I should think that would be recognized, as in the case of many medical men, as a direct step toward preferential advancement. Charity organization societies cover our country now, and perhaps at the next National Conference of Charities and Corrections propositions will be brought forward which will lead to the training of workers. I have thought it would be useful if there could be a well-digested body of information which could be transmitted through correspondence and made available to the practical students of charitable work."

Professor WILLIAM L. HULL (Swarthmore College):—

"There are two conditions which confront us in this question: first, the need for both kinds of training, the theoretical training and the practical knowledge of details. Dr. Lindsay has spoken of the most hopeful method which is being resorted to at the present time for giving these two kinds of training, namely, special courses dealing with social problems, and the opportunities extended to college students to spend their forces in study at first-hand in the work of charitable associations and college settlements.

"The second condition which confronts us, a very important one indeed, is the fact that the financial inducement held out to young men and women to engage in social service is not sufficient. If we are going to care for our poor in the best possible way, we must recognize the truth that in this line of work, above all others, perhaps, the laborer is worthy of his hire. There is not merely a need for trained workers; there is also a great need for the education of the public regarding this phase of the wages question. I do not think that college women and men are too valuable as philanthropic workers; no one can be too valuable for such work. Let us train the very best elements of our people in both a practical and theoretical way, and then let us hold out to them sufficient inducement to bring them into the work."

Professor JAMES:—

"I have given a good deal of attention to the question of organizing these special courses in connection with the universities. The difficulties we meet with on the side of the universities are mainly with reference to the degrees. Another difficulty is that you cannot undertake

to train people of widely different elementary education to work together. It has seemed to me that, in connection with our American universities, we might overcome some of these difficulties in the same way that the Germans have solved some of their questions. For instance, in the University of Berlin they have what is called a Seminary of Oriental Languages. This course is open not only to students, but is intended to acquaint all who are willing to take a course on the practical side of Oriental languages. The difficulty in such a scheme is, if the university students rush into such a course you cannot direct the training to meet the needs of those who have not had such a thorough elementary education. There should be found some neutral point where the university and outsider might meet. My idea is that there should be an attempt on the part of the university to solve these problems in practical life."

Miss RICHMOND:—

"I am very much indebted to the Academy for the opportunity of hearing what people think on this important question. The question of demand and supply has been brought up, but as I am not a political economist I will pass that over. I would say, however, that I have noticed whenever a trained worker goes to a community and makes a marked success, the demand for trained workers is increased and the pay is increased. As to the universities and their training, as opposed to practical training, I think there is need for both. When there are more trained workers, the managers of institutions will recognize that good intentions are not enough; that it is essential to know as well as to do. At present a large mass of valuable experience that could be turned to account in training students in such a school as I have tried to describe, is not being used. The fact that persons with such experience were not university graduates would not debar them from teaching in a training school. We are at present making almost every department of effort a means of training; why should not the practice of charity work be made a means of education outside of the universities? There are people who feel a call for this work; the class that formerly became foreign missionaries are now realizing that there is a great work to be done at home."

## II. THE THEORY OF SOCIOLOGY.

At the second session, on Tuesday morning, April 12, after the discussion on the annual address, the specific topic for the morning covered certain questions of sociological

theory. In the first place, Professor L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, read a paper on "Sociology and Politics," in which he discussed the influence of sociological research upon political science. This paper will be printed in full in a future number of the *ANNALS*, and hence only an abstract of the argument will be given here. Dr. Rowe spoke first of sociology as a gleaner in the field of human relations—psychological, physical, ethical and political—and called attention to the analogy between the work which sociology is now doing in emphasizing neglected factors and in calling attention to data altogether overlooked even within the limits of some of the special social sciences. Sociology is making a more intensive study of motives with the important result that the wide discrepancy between individual and groupal action has been shown. More particularly has sociology demonstrated that the groupal relations of the individual cannot be explained on the basis of the rationalism of Rousseau or the utilitarianism of Bentham. Much of the reasoning of writers on politics is vitiated by the fact that they deal with a mannikin rather than with a real man. It is also necessary to study the political psychology of modern nations, and this work has been begun by the sociologists. Professor Rowe then analyzed the appeal to individual interest in the recent agitations for political reform, showing that it was inadequate because it presupposes too great an ability on the part of the average individual to discount the future and to weigh a great future good over against an immediate satisfaction.

In the next place it was asked if utilitarian motives do not account for political activity, how can the devotion to public welfare, of which there are many examples in modern times, be explained? Professor Rowe's answer to this question consisted of an interesting demonstration that such phenomena are due to a combination of social forces which we class as political ideals. Social instincts and sentiments,

beliefs and feelings are combined variously to create these ideals and to formulate them in such expressions as "liberty, equality, fraternity," "sovereignty of the people," etc. To illustrate the formation of such political ideals and their influence in real life, Professor Rowe compared the political conditions in America with those in France. He claimed that the differences in American and French political ideals consist in their relation to the historical antecedents of the two nations. These differences were brought out by many happy illustrations, and in conclusion Dr. Rowe referred again to the fact that much of the work now being done in theoretical sociology is destined to furnish a basis for a much deeper and truer analysis of the phenomena of which political science treats.

In discussing Dr. Rowe's paper, John Jay Chapman, Esq., of New York, spoke on the nature and essence of government, treating particularly of the social psychology of the governed in their relations to governmental activity.

Following Mr. Chapman's discussion, the present writer presented a paper on the "Unit of Investigation or Consideration in Sociology." This will also be printed in full in a subsequent number of the ANNALS, and I need only devote a few words of general outline in order to introduce the discussion which followed. I discussed the unifying results in other sciences due largely in my opinion to the possession of a common unit of consideration which served as a common starting point in theoretical discussions, a common meeting ground at nearly every stage of scientific deduction and a common goal for investigation. In this sense the cell in biology, the atom and molecule in chemistry and physics and the sensation in psychology may be regarded. In seeking for a similar unit in sociology which may, like the other units, be variously defined by different writers, I have selected what I call the "social imperative" not as a metaphysical entity, but as a concrete and given fact in society. It is the "social ought" which makes me



think and act differently in the presence of any other human being or group of human beings from the way in which I think and act when alone. This modification is the primary fact for the theory of sociology, the starting point and the goal of sociological interpretation, very much as the sensation is for psychology. In the course of my paper I also discussed the various units hitherto adopted by sociological writers, namely, the family, the social man and the social type, and endeavored to show that the "social imperative" had an advantage in that it is a variable unit and may also be objectively studied and measured as embodied in social institutions. The following is a summary of the discussion of this topic:

Dr. ARTHUR FAIRBANKS (Yale University):—

"In listening to Dr. Lindsay's paper it seemed to me rather strange that the social imperative should be chosen as the unit of investigation in sociology. I think the difficulty in comprehending that phrase, however, was in our understanding of the term 'unit of investigation.' As you have noticed the different points in the paper, you have seen that other phrases have frequently been substituted for it which are entirely clear. It seems to me that the social imperative instead of being the starting point of investigation should rather be the meeting ground of investigators. I would be very glad to agree to that.

"It seems to me also that we cannot too much emphasize the close connection between psychology and sociology. The psychologist is coming to feel that the individual mind is what it is, because of the common mental life of the society in which that mind is formed and in which it lives. If I understand the work of the sociologist rightly, he is studying society as it bears on the individual mind. The two facts correspond. We may, of course, use that phrase 'social imperative' as the name for the influence which is exerted upon the individual, and interpreted in that way it seems to me we have an exceedingly valuable point for the work of sociology. Contrast that with some of the other starting points which sociology has selected in the hands of different investigators. One man begins with the study of social forces. He finds certain forces, forces which are not homogeneous, and the result is a very heterogeneous and mixed mass of material which he gathers. If he started with the thought presented this morning, the influence of society as it bears on this individual

and on that, he would have been starting with the fundamental fact of sociology and whatever errors he might have made would have been checked by the fact that he was starting with and coming back to this one central truth. Or if one begins as some sociologists have begun with a so-called organic conception of society, if one starts with a figure of speech and attempts to explain society by reference to that figure of speech, he is explaining the figure and not the fact, and, therefore, his results are not useful to any except the few who understand the starting point. One might also have begun with the study of different institutions, taking one institution at a time, and have arrived at conclusions which are extremely variable. But that study does not, perhaps, deserve the name of sociology as a science, as it does not centre around the one important fact of sociology.

"This thought of the social imperative, taken as the central point of the study, the influence of a group of minds upon each individual mind of that group, will be exceedingly profitable and exceedingly beneficial for the future of sociology. In our study of institutions it gives us that general view which enables us to fit particular facts which we gather into the general system with which it is important for us to correlate every fact which we gain. But, if we call this the unit of investigation, that immediately raises some other questions and it seems to me that the phrase is an unfortunate one. We understand what it means when an atom is spoken of as the unit of investigation in chemistry, when the cell is spoken of as the unit of investigation in biology, or sensation in psychology. For the time being it is assumed to be a given datum for the work that is being carried on. It is not to be analyzed, it is something fixed, something that all investigators accept as reasonable, and that, therefore, can be used alike by different men. It is in that sense, tangible; a unit that can be grasped and applied in investigation.

"I think it is an open question whether any such thing is possible for the science of sociology. It is a question whether the economist has really succeeded in finding such a thing; perhaps he has, but for the sociologist the study of forces is even more complex than for the economist. In physics we can take our molecule; we do not analyze it into the atom. We take it as it is. If an atom is in one molecule, it is not at the same time in another. In analyzing society, I suppose its atom might be called the individual. But this individual instead of being always in the same molecule is in a great many different molecules at once. He is connected with one group by business relations, with another by church, with another by family, and so on, until he is to be found in many different groups. The matter is a very complex one for the sociologist. If you take the individual as the unit of

investigation, you are thereby letting go of the fact that each one is to be found in different circles and different groups. Consequently, the effort to find a real unit of investigation in sociology, while it may not be impossible, is exceedingly difficult, and perhaps the problem is one that we are not yet ready to solve.

"As for the particular unit which has been suggested it seems to me that it is in the first place too general, too vague, to be useful as a unit of investigation. It is really too variable to be a successful unit. A variable unit is what we need, but if we get a unit of investigation which varies with each individual of society, we have a unit so variable that we cannot handle it. My feeling is that a most important fact has been presented in Dr. Lindsay's paper. But I should say that the group is rather the unit than the social imperative, and that to call the social imperative the unit of investigation is to apply a wrong name to it."

Professor GIDDINGS :—

"I was very greatly interested in Professor Lindsay's paper and I find myself in very hearty agreement with him in general. I thought that he was certainly on the right track, that he had taken, in his analysis, a long step toward the determination of the true unit of investigation in sociology. When he told us that the social imperative was the phenomenon to be investigated by the sociologist, I could see that there was one good reason for studying the matter in that way. The unit of investigation in political science is sovereignty; it is simply one form of the social imperative, a specific form. Political science is a specialized development of our whole scheme of social science or social philosophy. If, then, we are quite right in arguing that sovereignty is the unit of investigation in political science, it is entirely true to say that the social imperative in some form, or expressed in some way, whether we use those words or not, certainly is either the unit of investigation in sociology or it, by implication, contains that unit of investigation.

"When does a social imperative appear in its simplest possible form? It appears, and every one knows that it appears, when any one of us stands in the presence of another human being. All that is necessary to create your social imperative is that perfectly simple social situation. If I am by myself thinking my own thoughts the social imperative is not felt; but as soon as I am confronted by my fellow-man I do not think my own thoughts in quite the same way, and as I look into his eye I feel the social imperative, and he feels it when he looks at me. The social imperative arises in its simplest form when you and I are in the presence of the other fellow. The existence of that other fellow, what he is, what he does to you, the influence he has upon you, are

the phenomena of your social imperative. Then, if you get out of that phenomenon of the other fellow, what he is, what he does, as the biologist gets out of the phenomenon of the cell all that there is in it, you have obtained your whole system of social imperative. It so happens that our very word 'sociology' is derived from the simple Latin name of the other fellow:—the *socius*. I should say that just as the cell is the unit of investigation in biology; just as sensation is the unit of investigation in psychology, the social imperative is the unit of investigation in sociology."

Professor C. S. WALKER :—

"In illustrating this unit of investigation in sociology, it seems to me that Professor Giddings hardly brought out that in which consists the knowledge of the other fellow. I may study the other fellow and still have no primary conception of what sociology is, because sociology is not the other fellow, nor myself; it is the relation existing between the other fellow and me. But when we bring in a third fellow and 65,000,000 or 200,000,000 other fellows and try to get the relation existing between all those, we have a very complex problem. The paper by Dr. Lindsay was in the direct line of truth. It is very necessary that we should find out this social imperative; I think there is the *sine qua non*. What is it which constitutes society? It is not one individual; it is the relation existing between many individuals."

Professor J. J. McNULTY:—

"I should like to say a word as to the relation of sociology to its allied sciences. When it was stated that the unit of investigation was observed in the relation between myself and the other fellow, one important point, at least from the psychological standpoint, remained unnoticed and that was that the other fellow was the picture of myself. According to Ross and Baldwin the social imperative means emotion. It seems to me that the fact that man is born in society and that he takes on this power of retrospection, to see himself in this other fellow and understands the other fellow through himself, makes it clear that sociology is naturally a developed psychology."

### III. THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

In the treatment of this topic at the third session on Tuesday afternoon, April 12, particular reference was made to existing conditions in high schools and colleges rather than universities, and the term "social sciences" was construed in its broadest sense to include economics and political

economy (economic theory and history, money and banking), sociology and statistics, political science and politics (civics, finance and taxation).

Professor John L. Stewart, of the Central Manual Training School of Philadelphia, was asked to discuss the distinctive High School Problem. He spoke in part as follows:

"Concerning the desirability of teaching political economy in secondary schools there exists great difference of opinion. There are those who believe that economics and its allied subjects have no place in the curriculum of a high school, while there are others who are equally confident that the high school is far from doing its duty by the community in neglecting such essentially important studies. Six years ago there was held at Madison, Wisconsin, a conference of prominent teachers whose object was to devise a scheme of study in history and civics suitable for schools of high school grade. The conference was emphatic in its recommendations concerning history and civics but reported against the teaching of political economy, presenting the following resolutions:

"'9 *Resolved*, That formal instruction in political economy be omitted from the school program; but that economic subjects be treated in connection with other pertinent subjects. . . .

"'30. *Resolved*, That no formal instruction in political economy be given in the secondary schools, but that, in connection particularly with United States history, civil government and commercial geography, instruction be given in those economic topics, a knowledge of which is essential to the understanding of our economic life and development.'

"The conference insisted that political economy should not be introduced as a distinct and separate science; but as illustrating government and political questions. In connection with Resolution No. 30 there was adopted the following memorandum:

"'It is suggested, for example, that when the tariff history of the United States is being studied, the laws of value, the conditions of production, and the principles of exchange, especially as relating to international trade, be explained; that in connection with the study of the development of means of transportation, such topics as the concentration of population and of industry, the organic character of society, the corporate organization of industry, the capitalistic mode of production, the process of distribution, monopolies, labor organizations, etc., be discussed; that in connection with a study of Jackson's administration, the subjects of crises, banks and their functions, the

functions of money, the laws of its circulation, bimetallism, paper money, and kindred topics be presented; that in connection with the study of our great wars, certain topics in finance be introduced, as for example the principles of war finances, the history of our debt, the process of debt conversion, and the methods of paying public debts; that in connection with the study of civil government, such topics as the assessment and collection of taxes, the principles of taxation, the kinds of taxes, the functions of government, the formation and vote of the budget, the expenses of government, etc., be studied.

"In making these recommendations the conference does not intend to suggest that less time than is customary be given to political economy, or that less emphasis be given to its importance as a study in the high schools; but rather that emphasis be laid on vital topics, and that less time be devoted to controverted subjects and unsettled questions."

"I fail to see how any teacher who treats any period of American history, going into the subject to the extent suggested in this memorandum can avoid the necessity of direct and formal teaching of political economy. The 'connection' spoken of in the resolution is so close that the conference could not avoid showing the direct value of economics in any better way than by publishing this memorandum.

"It was admitted by the members of the conference that the essential principles of economics were not above the reach of high school pupils; but that 'an attempt to master the whole subject' would result in the understanding of only a small part. Does any student in either high school or college ever master the whole of a subject? Coming from a body of men who are insisting upon the intensive study of history because it is admitted that the field is too large, such a statement is simply absurd. If there is anything made prominent in the good teaching of the day it is the acquirement of method, of a certain mental condition—a scientific attitude toward the material of knowledge. The objections to economics were multiplied by asserting the impossibility of securing trained teachers and the absence of proper text-books for high school use. The lack of good teachers is characteristic of history work, a fact which was ever present to the members of the conference; yet there is no reason to expect them to urge that history should be taught incidentally through English. Despite the feeling of the conference on this point, we have the fact that the majority of the university men who study history also take political economy, and as an increasing number of such men go into secondary schools there is no doubt that history will be better taught and that political economy will not suffer in its presentation. Every year sees an increasing number of good elementary works in economics

prepared by experienced teachers, and in that respect political economy is as well cared for as is history.

"The spirit exhibited by the conference was decidedly reactionary. The feeling exhibited toward economics is similar to the opposition shown a score of years ago to the introduction of natural science into the colleges and high schools. Science won, and to-day there is formal scientific teaching from the elementary school—under the name of 'natural study'—through the secondary school, up to the end of the college or university course. The same state of mind has manifested itself toward history. Until within the present decade history was regarded as an annex to literature and the idea that history teachers should be specialists was regarded as destructive of all that went to make sound 'culture.' In his inaugural address John Stuart Mill declared that university instruction in history was unnecessary, that the student should get his knowledge by private reading, and that a professor of history should devote his time to the work of interpretation. But we have changed all that. Every university and college has its department or course in history. High schools are endeavoring to make their work more adequate and more scientific, while our elementary schools are beginning to feel the influences which insist upon the great educational value of history taught by biographies, legends and incidents in national development. And instead of the literary and purely æsthetic view of history we all know that the revival of interest in history teaching has been characterized by a change of base—emphasis upon the economic and social changes and their influences in moulding the destiny of nations. In fact history taught without a knowledge of economics becomes characterless and invertebrate.

"In consideration of the question whether political economy and allied subjects should be placed in the high school course, it is very necessary that we should fix our attention on what the high school is supposed to be. We must realize that not more than ten per cent of the pupils of a high school go through it and go to college. What is our duty then toward those who do not expect to go beyond the high school? It seems to me that there is only one answer to that. We must come to realize that the public high school in America is a unique institution; it is there that the great majority of Americans receive all their formal education. In view of that fact it seems to me a very pressing problem to have a course of instruction in civics, politics—call it what you may—and some consideration of what we understand by economics, in every public high school. A course could be arranged that would make not too great a tax on either pupils or teachers.

"The committee of ten pointed out the fact that if instruction in political economy were given in the high school, it might be presented in such a way as to prove detrimental to independent thinking. But this is no more likely to occur with reference to instruction in political economy than in history. I think it would be well for one year in a high school course of four years to be given over entirely to instruction in politics and economics, or, at least, half a year. I know of schools where the interest of the pupils in these subjects has been so great that voluntary classes have been formed for such instruction. Such a course in such a school would, necessarily, be general; but the great point would be first of all to impress upon the minds of the pupils the idea of social growth, the idea that the society in which they live has had a history, has a definite organization, and that that organization can in a measure be studied. Society can be described; the capitalization of industry, the nature of property, the question of the relation of the state to industrial enterprises and to other forms of activity can be explained in such a way that the ordinary boy can get something out of it. There is no more necessity for a teacher of political economy in a secondary school to be dogmatic than for a teacher of history, or for a teacher of political economy in a college or university.

"The report of the committee of ten has had great weight in certain quarters, and as a whole deserves criticism. Whether or not we should have formal instruction in political economy in the high school is one of the most important questions before the American public. Certainly we cannot but realize that most of those who go through the public high school and what we call our private secondary school are getting no instruction whatever in this important science. It is not alone a matter of pedagogical necessity, but of practical expediency. Nothing can be said against political economy on the ground of the old bugbear of intellectual discipline. The great majority of the subjects taught in the ordinary high school seem to make no impression on the ordinary boy or girl. They come from the high school, as a rule drugged with mathematics and all their mental elasticity exhausted. The wail of the upper-class teacher soon is, 'What has become of the mathematical ability of these boys? It has collapsed.' The effect would be the same by a wrong use of political economy and politics along with history. No doubt mathematics would be the first thing to suffer, as in the high school Latin and Greek have been forced to give way to natural science.

"There is no pedagogical objection to putting political economy and politics into the secondary school. The conditions under which we live make it necessary for the public to see that this instruction is



given. The public is willing to pay for instruction in history and it is also willing to pay for like instruction in political science. It would be a social blunder if this were not the case. There is no reason to urge that political economy should not be required for entrance to college. It seems to me that as the number of those who go to college increases we shall be able to raise and dignify and enlarge the work in political economy in the high schools if it is a required subject for entrance to college. I feel that the interest being taken by the non-pedagogical element will put instruction in political economy to the front."

Professor Edmund J. James, of Chicago University, was the next speaker and in taking up the question of the Commercial High School spoke in part as follows:—

"In the first place I wish to say a word upon the point which Professor Stewart has brought up relating to the report of the committee of ten. I think that the report of this committee was one of the most reactionary documents that has ever been sent out. I am especially interested in this subject of the teaching of the social sciences not only in the universities, but in the high school and lower schools, and I feel that there is much just ground for criticism of this report. It seems to me a proper thing would be for the Academy and the American Economic Association to take up this question in a more earnest way than it has been taken up; both sides of the question ought to be heard. I am somewhat of a heretic on the attitude of the colleges and their feeling of leadership. As I read the educational history of the United States, it seems to me that the secondary schools hold a most important place. Our high schools have felt the need of getting themselves into harmony with the community which they represent. There have been incorporated into the curriculum of the high school the subjects which the people wanted to know and which they wanted their children to know. We find that instead of insisting upon Latin, Greek and mathematics, the high schools have been attempting in one decade after another new subjects. The college puts its stamp of approval upon certain subjects in the secondary schools and these are accepted for admission to college.

"I feel that one of the great educational problems is to force the study of civics, political economy, and this class of subjects to the very bottom of our schools. I should say that this is not only legitimate, but necessary. We shall never have an adequate education of our people unless we can extend and adapt the instruction in these subjects to our wants.

" Our present high school system, taking the country over, is defective. It consists in most places of a single institution similar to the Central High School in Philadelphia. Its course is based primarily upon a study of the humanities, language, literature, history, mathematics, elementary science. Its curriculum is intended primarily for those youth of the community who desire a general secondary education. As a matter of fact, however, its tendency and outlook is toward the college or the professions. This is proven by the fact that most of its graduates go to the college or enter one or another of the professional careers. It is also proven by the fact that the great majority of the youth who enter the manual callings, as well as those who enter business, do not think it worth their while to go to the typical high school at all.

" Now, there is a general feeling that this literary high school does not answer all the legitimate needs of the community for secondary education, and so manual training and high schools, similar to those now established in Philadelphia, the first city, by the way, to lead in this reform, are springing up throughout the country. These are not technical or professional schools, but they are educational institutions of secondary rank, intended to give a general and liberal training to those youth who, while desiring a secondary training, do not fancy the exclusively literary training of the typical high school.

" We now plead for the next step in the development of this system, the addition of a third school of secondary rank, the purely educational institution, not a technical nor a professional one, an institution which will give a liberal or general training like the other two schools, but a training which will appeal especially to that larger class of our youth who desire to enter business life and to whose tastes, as shown by the facts, the curricula of the present schools do not appeal. This class is as large as either of the others. It deserves consideration as much as they. We ought to afford these numbers also the opportunity of a secondary education which shall be a help and aid toward their future life-work. That many of them feel the need of such an opportunity is shown by the hundreds, and one may say thousands, of so-called commercial colleges which under unfavorable conditions are trying to serve this need of the community.

" Be it noted that we are not in favor of organizing out of public expenses schools like the present commercial colleges, but we are in favor of organizing schools with a purely liberal or general educational aim, but which, as an incident to other work, will serve the need indicated.

" The curriculum of such a school must be based upon a study of the social and political sciences. As every typical high school bases its

curriculum upon the humanities, as the manual training and high school bases its curriculum upon the natural sciences and mathematics, so this school must base its work on the study of politics and economics. It must, of course, include in its curriculum a modicum of the humanities, of the natural science, and of mathematics, just as the other two schools embrace in their curriculum a modicum of the social sciences. But the nucleus of this course of study will be found in the study of man in society, in the largest and most comprehensive way, exactly as the nucleus of the manual training school is to be found in the study of the sciences and their applications in the larger sense.

"These subjects offer as valuable material for a disciplinary and general training as either of the other subjects indicated. The study of commercial geography, of commercial history, of the organization and present constitution of industry, contains as valuable elements of an educational kind as are to be found in any other curriculum.

"It is almost impossible on an occasion like this to enter into details of a proposed curriculum, but aside from the modicum of language, which ought to be modern language and the languages of the pre-eminently commercial nations, and aside from the modicum of mathematics and natural science, which certainly ought to include a thorough course in chemistry, the following subjects might be mentioned as among those from which the material for such a curriculum can be selected.

"The elements of political economy on the one hand and political science and sociology on the other afford, so to speak, a theoretical basis for the entire curriculum. A study of the various forms of our government, local, state and national, a study of the commercial products to be found in the industry of the world to-day, their localization, their preparation, their relative importance, distribution, etc., a study of the banking and currency systems of the world, a study of the tariff systems of the world, the general mechanism of exchange, such as clearing houses, the subject of insurance in all its different aspects, the elements of constitutional and administrative law, the elements of commercial law, and other similar subjects, which might be mentioned, form a body of material out of which the matter suitable to secondary instruction can be easily obtained. There is no doubt that if such a commercial high school were established in any of our large cities, properly equipped and organized, its doors would be crowded with young men and women seeking the benefits of this kind of education."

The problem in the colleges was treated by Professor George C. Wilson, of Brown University. The following is an abstract of his paper:—

“In the discussion of the place of any subject in the scheme of education, there naturally arises the question of the purpose of the portion of the curriculum under consideration. In discussing the ‘Teaching of the Social Sciences in Colleges,’ the place of the college in the educational system should be first defined. This is a fundamental question and one still in a measure undecided. The preparatory schools have assumed the teaching of some of the subjects once included in the college course. The technical schools and universities now cover a portion of the old college course. The purpose of the preparatory school as related to the college is to fit the student for a broader education. The technical school aims to furnish courses which shall have practical utility. The university aims at the advancement of knowledge in the broad sense and at original investigation.

“Admitting that the college course, as it is called in America, is a desirable portion of our educational system, which seems to be more and more acknowledged at home and abroad, what should the aim of a college training be? The college holds a place between the preparatory school and the technical school or university. The field of the preparatory school is necessarily limited, that of the technical school or university necessarily specialized in a high degree. That the results of the specialized training of the highest technical institutions and that the result of the advanced research of the universities may become fruitful in well-being, indeed, that this work may continue to be valued, it must be supported by an intelligent public. There is left for the college the magnificent field of liberalizing education, of broadening culture and of training man to appreciate himself in his relations to the universe. That movement, naturally in England, but nevertheless unfortunately, christened ‘University Extension’ was in the best sense, from the American point of view, college extension. The American college idea, that of a training in broad and liberal culture, is gaining a place in the estimation of European educators and public men. This growing estimation must be exceedingly gratifying to those who have encouraged the enrichment of the college curriculum feeling that the technical school and university could thus reach the higher plane. For neither the technical school nor the university should be obliged to do the college work.

“The man who is to pass from college into active life needs a general training in the principles that are enunciated by the social

sciences, the technical specialist may need still more the broadening influence of such culture, the university specialist needs no less to apprehend man in his social relationships. Whatever may be the opinion as to the introduction of the social sciences at earlier stages in the educational system, there can be but one opinion upon the eminent appropriateness of these studies to the college curriculum.

"Admitting the propriety of social studies in the college course, the questions as to detail remain. The social sciences are distinct from each other though by no means separate. That which is obtained by the study of one contributes to an enlarged view of the data of some other of the social sciences. The ideal order of these sciences must vary somewhat with the method and aim of the training which different instructors have in mind. This arrangement will also be farther conditioned by period of time and circumstances under which the instruction is given. Ideal conditions do not exist, hence the question comes as to the best arrangement under existing conditions.

"The student entering college is confronted by new standards, generally a new environment both physical and social, and it is probably advisable not to make the transition in intellectual training a too severe mental shock. There are certain lines of social study which may be taken early with advantage. These seem to be quite generally accepted. The student has had such preparation as will make the study of the history of social, political and economic institutions natural and profitable, as well as preparatory to the social sciences. These studies may come early. The training in the so-called exact sciences prepares for accurate observation and description indispensable for the social sciences. Modern languages must be pursued as a means to the end of broader culture if for no other reason, even English seems to desire this attention. The classics furnish the atmosphere of an earlier and different civilization and contribute toward the college aim. As man is both a biological and psychological specimen as well as a sociological, the training that gives the view of man upon these sides of his nature supplements in an invaluable manner the socio-scientific training. Anthropology, ethnology, political geography, demography and kindred sciences are almost indispensable for a correct view of social relations. As many of these studies as possible should be placed in the first two years. Yet as at present governed, a college course cannot be arranged exclusively with reference to the ideal preparation for the social sciences proper. However, a good measure of historical preparation may be had in most colleges, a study of local and national institutions both political and social may be undertaken, and some measure of study of what is sometimes called descriptive sociology may be pursued to advantage

during the early half of the course. This preparation adds to the interest in, and makes more effective, the work in political economy and social science proper. The study of political and economic science may perhaps be introduced somewhat earlier than the other social sciences, not because of necessary logical precedence, but because the number and excellence of political and economic treatises makes possible the perspective necessary for the earlier stages of social study. The general study of statistics may probably accompany these studies beginning in the second or third year of the college course, though the study of the theory and science of statistics could be reserved even to the graduate work. The more specialized work needed in money, banking, etc., must come late or in the technical or university courses. The same may be said of finance, taxation and many of the problems of political administration. In general also theories and doctrines as such and social problems may be reserved till late in the course.

"Sociology in the narrow sense, because of the necessary previous preparation in biology, psychology, history, anthropology, etc., cannot be taken to best advantage before the third year of the college course. In some respects the narrower science might properly be a graduate study. The student of sociology needs some preparation in statistics and comparative institutions. He must know the bearing of the theory of evolution, and the theories of heredity upon modern science. He must have such high development of the mind and maturity of thought as to give him a sound basis for generalization. He must be able to distinguish condition and cause. Since sociology studies man from many points of view, the student must have had these view points. As the economist does not to-day disregard history, biology, psychology, so the sociological student must have a measure of training in the broadest possible field. Sociology, both from practical and pedagogical reasons, should be reserved till late in the college course. Many of the laws found to hold in sociology may have been earlier discovered as binding in other sciences. These laws may be none the less sociological laws, for priority of discovery does not here constitute exclusive right of possession. To apprehend these laws at their true value and sociological facts in their true relations requires the broadest possible preparation. Sociology in the narrow sense must, therefore, come late.

"If, then, the idea of a college training is broad humanizing culture, the social sciences, though they cannot claim to be all that is necessary for such a training, can properly claim a larger place than is given in many college curricula.

"The social sciences may look forward to an enlarged place in the

sphere of university research, may expect greater recognition in the technical school on account of their practical utility, and may be confident of growing recognition in that broad field of general culture which remains for the college."

Rev. Dr. Samuel W. Dike opened the general discussion which followed these three addresses. As secretary of the National Divorce Reform League, Dr. Dike has pleaded for years for greater attention and better instruction on social questions, in school and college. Moreover, he has been a pioneer in lecturing both before the general public and in the colleges of the country on these topics. He spoke, therefore, out of a large experience when he referred to some of the practical difficulties encountered. The following is a brief abstract of his remarks :—

"I shall speak upon this subject from a practical point of view. For about twenty years I have been interested in the family as a practical problem, beginning with the divorce question and studying the family in its connection with social science. At that time there was no instruction upon the family given in any of our colleges. The divorce question was first treated separately, then in connection with the family and the whole social question. To-day there has sprung up a great interest in the study of social questions. Many ministers write to me and ask how they shall go to work to study sociology; what books they shall read. Usually they have been reading general discussions of social subjects. The books they read treat of social questions, from the point of view of one or more of the social sciences, either separately or indiscriminately. The treatment is not distinctly sociological and therefore comparative. Though now able to call attention to the works of Giddings and others in sociology proper, the real want is not yet supplied, for they are in the higher realms of sociology. There is need for more elementary books on this subject; for a text-book that will be elementary and at the same time introductory to the science of sociology. I would like to see a small text-book that would do for the student of social science as a whole what an elementary book on political economy now does for that subject. One of the great needs is the cultivation of the social sense, for we must have a social sense before we have the social conscience. I would like a book that would set before me the different forms of society, such as the family, the village, the town or municipality, the school, the church, the corporation, etc. The students should be able to study

comparatively and analytically the principal features of the organization of these local institutions, and they should have such elementary knowledge of them as will enable them to see definitely what is needed for the improvement of local conditions. At the time of the election of mayor in New York, the people in Massachusetts were greatly interested in the problem of municipal government in that city. The religious press gave much space to this problem, and yet at no time was there a single hint of the recognition of any identity between the problems of New York City and their own local problems."

Professor GIDDINGS:—

"There is a part of this question of the teaching of sociology which has engaged my interest for some years, though until this present moment I have never ventured to speak upon it, and yet it is one concerning which that I have very often been questioned. It is this: Leaving out of consideration for the moment the utility of sociological studies; leaving out of consideration the question where they should be placed, whether in colleges, high schools, or elsewhere, we have also this question of interest to those who are especially interested in sociology: What studies are the necessary tools of the sociologist? Suppose a man desires to devote his life to the study of sociology; to the investigation of social questions, what particular studies must he master in order to have the tools to work with? In this attempt to make a place in the colleges and high schools for economic and social studies bad tactics have been adopted which I believe are a mistake, namely, the under-rating of the importance of the older studies of the college curriculum—mathematics, Latin and Greek.

"The studies which are to be followed out in the future in sociology may be divided into two groups. There will be a group of scholars interested in the development and formulation of sociological laws. I expect that all the sociological laws that we shall ever get will be formulated in terms of mathematical principles. We shall get the formulation of such laws as soon as we have collected and assorted the proper statistical material, because it will depend upon the intelligent use of statistical material.

"A great deal of very important scientific work will be done in this field in the near future, and it will be necessary to have men well trained in mathematics in order to do it. Mathematics is, therefore, an indispensable training to all advanced work to be done in the field of theoretical sociology. From a study of ethnology and anthropology we have brought together in recent years a large number of new ideas, new concepts, new terms. We have learned of the clan, of the tribe, of the federation of tribes. We have acquired the notion of kinship



in the family, and of the early forms of the family. These are important historical questions of sociology. Did the great modern European nations develop out of early forms of institutions of this kind, or did they not? These are historical questions to engage the sociologist, and they will have to be worked out in terms of the early history of the Germanic tribes, and the data for that study is to be found in old legal codes. As that data is all in Latin, it is absolutely useless to any student of sociology unless he has a reading knowledge of Latin.

"All the analyses in sociology, as the discussion of to-day and of all recent meetings of sociologists have shown, have to be made in terms of modern psychology. I say, therefore, that the three tools necessary for the man who desires to devote his life to the study of sociology, are: A good knowledge of mathematics, a reading knowledge of Latin and a good knowledge of psychology."

#### IV. GENERAL FEATURES AND RESULTS.

All of the sessions of the annual meeting were well attended, and a sufficient number of delegates from a distance were present to warrant the belief that the annual meeting furnishes opportunities to the members of the Academy which they appreciate and which cannot be supplied in any other way. The program was a full one, and still there was found some time for social intercourse and for visits on the part of strangers in the city to various places of interest. A meeting was arranged for at the Philadelphia Museums, where the Director, Dr. William P. Wilson, and the officers took considerable pains to explain the collection of products from all parts of the world and the methods by which the Information Bureau obtains and catalogues all available data on commerce and geography. Through the courtesy of the American Sugar Refining Company, an opportunity was afforded to visit the largest and best equipped sugar refinery in the country, the Spreckles Refinery on the Delaware. Visits to the Eastern Penitentiary and to other institutions of interest were privately arranged for at the request of some of the delegates.

An important meeting of the Council of the Academy

was held on Monday afternoon preceding the opening session, at which time the present work and administration and the future interests of the Academy were discussed. The delegates, members and their friends were entertained socially on the second evening of the meeting by the Provost and Mrs. Harrison, of the University of Pennsylvania.

To those specially interested in either the study or the teaching of sociology, the impressions received both from the body of material brought together and from the personal intercourse with those who had their thought focused on this one topic, were exceedingly helpful, and the results warrant us in the belief that it may be wise to pursue a similar policy and to select another general topic for the next annual meeting. In a field where there has been such great diversity of activity, and so little opportunity for personal contact between the workers, it is surprising that at this first meeting of the kind there should have been such general unanimity of opinion.

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

## SOCIOLOGY AND PHILANTHROPY.

Sociology stands for pure science, while philanthropy stands for applied science. Pure science seeks to know the truth for its own sake, regardless of the gain or loss involved in abstract knowledge. The applications of science have for their avowed motive and purpose the desire to convert abstract knowledge into human profit, by way of addition to human wealth, power and happiness. Thus, in the dissecting-room the student may pick the cadaver to pieces simply for the sake of the intellectual gratification of the sense of wonder at the marvelous intricacy and simplicity of the human frame; or he may be animated by the noble resolve to make use of the power thus gained in fighting disease and death. The same distinction exists between the philanthropic and the non-philanthropic student of society. But the physician who is not thoroughly grounded in anatomy is a sciolist, and his practice can be only empirical. So the philanthropist who has taken no pains to know what may be and is known of social structure and function is no better than a social quack—certainly an *ignoramus*, and possibly an impostor as well. To carry this comparison one step farther, the medical expert who makes no use of his knowledge to save human life or assuage human pain, and the sociologist who is indifferent to social suffering and makes no effort to improve social conditions, are alike deficient in the sentiment of love and in the moral sense of responsibility or conscience.

These two characters, that of the sociologist and of the philanthropist, may be, and often are, united in one person. The love of pure science for its own sake is not inconsistent with the wish to find applications of scientific discoveries in inventions which will prove of benefit to mankind—take Edison as an example. Theory and practice should be

united by a bond more indissoluble than the marriage tie; divorced from each other, they lose half, or more than half, their power to bless the world.

The mutual influence of theory and practice is reciprocal and equivalent. The medical practitioner, for instance, gains a better mastery of both his science and his art at the bedside, after having passed through a course of scientific medical instruction, than he could acquire from his teachers. More than that, his teachers have developed their science from their practice and that of other physicians. If the art is founded upon the science, not the less true is it that the science is merely the collected, selected, methodically arranged observations of those who have practiced the art. The science and the art grow together, *aequo passu*.

Of the same sort is the interdependence between sociology and philanthropy. The sociologist and the philanthropist can be of the greatest possible service—indeed they are indispensable—to each other.

What can the sociologist do for the philanthropist who is not expert in social science? If he knows more, and knows it better, he can help him by making him conscious of his ignorance, which is the first step toward its removal. It is the ignorance, the unconscious ignorance, which pervades all branches of philanthropic work, which is its most discouraging and depressing characteristic. No one who has not had ample opportunity for observation would readily suspect how large a percentage of so-called "charity workers" are uncultured, illiterate, inexperienced and so impracticably "practical," that they despise the art of deduction and generalization, of classification and discrimination, as beneath their notice. Bring them into contact with really larger minds than their own, enriched by reading and by travel, trained to observe and to think, capable of suspended judgment and not prone to mistake natural instinct for ripened wisdom, and the humility which is ever a mark of true charity renders them peculiarly docile. But

they must be taken on their spiritual, rather than on their purely intellectual side, and made to feel that their teachers are in moral sympathy with their benevolent impulses. If satisfied as to this point, they become as clay in the hands of the artist; living, not dead clay, with independent, original power of aspiration and growth. Teachers of sociology will find their most appreciative audiences, their most promising and ambitious pupils, not in the class-room of the college or the university, but in the charity conference, if they will condescend to seek them there. The seed there sown will lodge in a congenial soil, fructify and multiply a hundredfold. It is there that prejudice and misconception are most easily combated. There truth is most eagerly sought—"charity rejoiceth in the truth"—while error and misstatement are corrected by the personal experience, within his limited sphere of observation, of the listener. A practical use will be made of every useful suggestion dropped by the speaker. Above all, what the charity worker most needs is training in right methods of research, of investigation and inference, which he will rapidly acquire under wise guidance. The extent and preparation of this field for sociological planting is all but unknown to the great majority of academical instructors. Its very existence has not occurred to many of them. Yet it is to the sociologist what the farmers' institute is to the agricultural chemist, the entomologist and the scientific horticulturist, or the teachers' institute to the pedagogist.

I have long since discarded for myself my early prepossession in favor of certain once popular trends of sociological thought. I no longer believe in the preponderating value of the biological method of approaching the study of sociology. The biological analogies between the life of a plant or animal and that of society do not appeal to me as once they did. Interesting and suggestive as they are, they are after all but analogies, not identities of relation or mode of action, and metaphor is not argument. They are

worth something as illustrations, and may cast a sidelight upon truth, but, if followed too fast or too far, they are more apt to prove misleading will-of-the-wisps than torches to the patient seeker after truth. Society, if it is an organism at all, is not an organism of the same kind as a plant or an animal, and it is of more importance to point out the differences than the resemblances between them. Neither am I so sure as I once was that sociology is a science, in the ordinary acceptance of that word. The human animal is a compound of physical and metaphysical characters. To me it seems that the social scientist requires to be a sound metaphysician as well as a sound physicist, and that a wide gulf separates the physical sciences from social science, which must take notice of phenomena that cannot be subjected to the physical tests of the microscope, the scales and the crucible. The union, in man, of the tangible with the intangible, the ponderable with the imponderable, seems to set apart sociology from the sciences acquired in the chemical and physical laboratory, and to make of it a mysterious, indefinable commingling of science and philosophy.

I attach, too, far less importance to speculations concerning the origins of individual and social life in a remote, inaccessible past, of which we know nothing by observation, historical records, or tradition, than do some eminent sociologists, who appear to me to make an equally futile use of analogy with the biologists, but in a different sense, exaggerating the correspondences between that which is savage and that which is primitive. The facts of human life in association are recorded in history, and the principles which govern social relations are formulated in law. History and law are the two pillars of the sociological temple, which no speculative Samson can tear down. For this reason the most valuable service which the sociologist can render to the practical philanthropist is to impress upon his mind that the more he knows of history and law in

relation to his special work, whatever that may be, the better he will be qualified to grapple successfully with the problems which confront him. If there is order in social evolution, that order must be reflected in the history of the organic changes which have marked the progress of the race from barbarism to civilization. If the organic law of social evolution is discoverable anywhere, history furnishes the clue to the labyrinth in which that law lies hidden. All social change is the ultimate expression of a protest against existing social conditions, at first by a minority and then by a majority of those who have the power to embody this protest in statutory enactments or in usages which have the force of statutes. He who reads the statutes reads history in its most concrete, concentrated form, and they never mislead him. I say, therefore, that in order to treat the question of crime intelligently, the prison official and the prison reformer need to be grounded in the history of crime and punishment; to know what has been, in different ages and communities, the popular reaction against anti-social acts, and what in turn has been the corresponding reaction against tyranny calling itself justice, by which the form and application of legal penalties have been gradually modified. The same is true of insanity, pauperism, disease and the whole list of what are commonly called "social evils." The practical philanthropist, absorbed in his work, has ordinarily neither the time nor the natural or acquired capacity for the research which is essential to a complete and orderly view of the changes which have given him his material and determined his relation to it. At this point, more than any other, he needs the aid of the sociologist, who is at the same time a historian and a jurist.

The other side of this thought is that the sociologist needs no less the aid of the philanthropist, as I shall now proceed to show. The laboratory is an essential element in the equipment of a chemist or physicist. Without it no substantial advance in science is possible. Without it,

that which science knows could not be communicated to the novice in scientific investigation, who learns not so much by hearing or reading as by individual experimentation. Now there is no sociological laboratory other than the actual life of the world, and in that laboratory the philanthropist lives and moves and has his being. The theorist in political science must associate with statesmen; in political economy, with capitalists, merchants, manufacturers and financiers; and in social science, with philanthropists, in order that he may forever test and justify his theories by the facts which are fully known only to practical men of the world. Social science is in effect the systematic study of social conditions and processes, with a view to determining what is normal and what is abnormal in them. This is also the aim of the philanthropist. The philanthropist, however, desires, in no selfish spirit, but in the interest of humanity, to enlarge the sphere of the normal and limit that of the abnormal; a matter with which abstract science does not concern itself. His outlook is therefore naturally more circumscribed than that of the pure scientist. He is more absorbed in the present and the immediate, while the scientific mind travels far afield and ranges over the infinite past and the infinite future. Nevertheless, within the range of his personal experience and vision, the philanthropist is an accurate observer, a patient collector of facts, the importance of which to science he imperfectly appreciates and for that reason irregularly and fitfully records. Yet he is the best coadjutor of the trained scientific investigator, because he is at the same time an original experimenter, and his experiments are in the region which separates the normal from the abnormal, having for their precise purpose the prevention of the conversion of the normal into the abnormal and the reconversion of the abnormal into the normal. What the theorist cannot accomplish for himself, the philanthropist is forever doing; and it is short-sighted in the highest degree for the social scientist not to take some



oversight and direction of these experiments in the laboratory of life, and so to utilize the talents and the devotion of the humble, assiduous workers in the field of practical charity.

To take one illustration among many, of the natural connection between scientific and philanthropic investigation, both are deeply concerned with the question of human degeneracy. I cannot go into that at any length here and now, and must leave untouched the inquiry wherein degeneracy consists, how it may be recognized, how it originates, how far it is to be lamented and how far it is the indispensable accompaniment and condition of progress, as interstitial death is the manifestation of vitality and a minister to life. I do not see how a knowledge of degeneracy is to be acquired otherwise than by personal contact with degenerates, nor how this contact can be effected in the library or the class-room. The philanthropist has a much fuller and more accurate conception of degeneracy than the student or professor who is a recluse among his books, and can only speak at second hand of that which the philanthropist knows at first hand. If the social scientist is not himself also a practical philanthropist, he must be absolutely dependent upon philanthropy for a large part of the information which he builds into the framework of his science.

Another illustration of the same intimate connection is afforded by a consideration of the relations between political economy and charitable relief. Charity is a fine thing, no doubt; but justice is a finer. Justice is fundamental, charity supplemental. Charity steps in to relieve the situation where justice has partially failed. How to avoid the necessity for charity by securing a larger equality of opportunity and greater equity in the distribution of earnings, is both an economic and a philanthropic problem. The philanthropist sees the wrong which it is the business of the economist and statesman to rectify. A solution will be reached, if at

all, not by either singly, but by the joint effort of both, working in harmonious co-operation.

Philanthropy is not sociology, any more than engineering is pure mathematics. Instruction in applied mathematics is nevertheless given in schools which are not technological, nor even exclusively scientific. In a school of engineering much of the instruction must be imparted by teachers who are also practical mechanics. The beginning which has been made in directing the attention of American college students to social conditions and training them in habits of accurate thinking on social questions is to be commended. The American university prepares young men and women for life not merely as scholars, but as citizens. Citizenship implies responsibility for social conditions, with capacity to characterize them rightly and to remedy them if necessary. Sociology, therefore, if we could only tell precisely what it is, should have a place in the curriculum of the university as an aid to such preparation. But a better comprehension of the relations between sociology and philanthropy would enable us to define with greater precision the necessary limitations of the subject, at the same time that it would give us a broader notion of its boundless outlook. The aim of sociological teaching is to give the student a conception in outline of the organic life of the human race. I am afraid that some of those who are supposed to fill the chair of sociology in our institutions of learning have themselves no clear or adequate conception of this organic life, but are painfully striving after it, in the hope of "keeping ahead of the boys." If philanthropy is not sociology, neither is history, nor law, nor political philosophy, nor political economy. The sociological conception modifies our conception of every subject related to the associated life of mankind—of history, of law, of politics and of philanthropy. We cannot teach sociology apart from these and kindred subjects; neither can we teach these subjects so well, unless we teach them sociologically, just as the scientific habit

of thought and the scientific method are essential, no matter to what branch of physical science we may apply ourselves. But sociology is a philosophy as well as a science; it may even be said to have a more or less ethical character.

I plead, therefore, here as everywhere wherever chance gives me opportunity, for a more intimate association and fellowship between professional sociologists and professional philanthropists. I deplore the sociological teaching which is fragmentary, disjointed, a mere mosaic of quotations from the reports of actual observers of human life in its various aspects, arranged without regard to proportion or perspective, and which produces the effect upon the mind of a Chinese painting resembling nothing in heaven or earth. I deplore the speculative, unspiritual, atheistic motive of much of this crude sociological drawing. None the less, but rather more, do I deplore the unscientific spirit and method of a very large part of what passes in the world under the pseudonym of philanthropy—benevolence misdirected and misapplied, wasted energy at best, but at worst positively harmful and dangerous. The corrective for each is found in the union of the two, of the scientific acid with the philanthropic alkali, thus producing a neutral salt of positive value to the social materia medica. I would infuse into our sociologists a little more philanthropy, and a little more social science into our philanthropists, but not enough into either to destroy their special functions and utility. Did space allow, I should be glad to go on and show in how many ways the closer alliance for which I plead would benefit and bless the world.

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## THE RELATION OF THE COLONIAL FEE-SYSTEM TO POLITICAL LIBERTY.

The development of the constitution of the United States has been traced with considerable accuracy by writers on constitutional and political history, but the evolution of the ideas of political liberty in the minds and consciousness of the people, which manifested itself through these constitutional forms, as well as through revolutionary methods, has received less attention than it deserves. Historians have explained how the constitution has grown to be what it is, but they have not explained why it has so grown. How the people imbibed those ideas of political liberty, for the preservation of which they were willing and able to stand together in the Revolution, is a question which can not be answered by explaining how they gained skill in parliamentary practice.

The unexplained problem is, how shall we account for the difference between the political ideas and ideals of the colonists which they brought from Europe, and the notions of political liberty which were entertained by the signers of the Declaration of Independence? The first colonists were thoroughly imbued with all the seventeenth century notions of royal prerogatives and royal powers, and never dreamed of denying the right of the governor to establish courts, appoint officials, prescribe fees of office and at times even to levy taxes, while the signers seemed to have grasped the idea of popular sovereignty in its widest sense.

The transition from the one to the other is not explained by the general statement that the colonists found themselves in a new environment and naturally developed political ideas suited to it. It is not explained by simply pointing to the fact that many of the colonists had come to the New World in order to enjoy liberty of conscience. It is not explained

by enlarging upon the political genius everywhere manifested by the Anglo-Saxon race, and by theories based on the assumption that American political liberty owes its existence to the Anglo-Saxon spirit of these early settlers. Nor is the problem solved by the more plausible, but inadequate explanation, that political liberty was evolved through the numerous struggles for control over taxation, and through the indirect consequences of this control when once acquired. It is often contended that the colonial assemblies, by refusing to vote a salary to any official appointed by the governors, unless the appointment met their approval, gradually absorbed not only the control over the appointive power, but many other valuable privileges as well. That political privileges were obtained in this way is an important fact, and should receive due consideration. But as a historic fact it represents simply the trend of public opinion, and the drift of the political ideas of the times, and like a log in a river it shows the direction of the current.

Historians have, as a rule, over-emphasized the importance of colonial taxation and the struggles over its control, doubtless because of the prominence which this subject had in the legislative contests with the governors and the frequent references made thereto in the laws and documents of the period. In reality taxation as a means of raising revenue was an extraordinary resource, and was employed only when money was needed for some special purpose, as for fortifications, for maintaining troops, legislative bodies, and, at times, indeed, to pay the salaries of some of the executive officers. The bulk of the current expenses was, however, raised by means of fees of office, collected by each official for his services. Nearly every colonial official, from the governor down to the fence-viewer or pound-master, was supported more or less by these fees and perquisites of office. Accounts were rarely kept, and the appointees of the governor usually considered themselves responsible to no one, least of all to the colonial assembly, for the emoluments

of their respective positions. The result has been, therefore, that this important branch of colonial revenues, together with its manifold influences on colonial institutions, has received little or no attention from students of political history.

The contention that political liberty was developed through disputes over taxation is of some importance, but it is not a sufficient explanation of the problem at hand. The same objection can be urged against the following explanation offered by Mr. Lodge, in speaking of the attitude of the early Virginia legislatures to their governors:\*

"This nagging resistance to the governor, simply because he was a governor, and therefore made to quarrel with, now begins. It was this snarling and often unreasonable and factious, but ever persistent and watchful opposition which slowly trained the people, accustomed them to parliamentary and constitutional principles, and gradually raised their political thought to the level of 1776."

The liberty loving spirit of the American colonists was not born in the colonial legislative halls, nor were their ideas of political liberty fostered by useless quibbles over trifling and unimportant questions. The struggles which mark each epoch in the development of this spirit were participated in not only by the burgesses, but by the people themselves, on the distant frontiers, as well as in the densely populated centres. How else can we explain the fact that the more distant and scattered agricultural population formed in one sense the backbone of the revolution? These struggles were not precipitated, because the colonists had a governor with whom they chose to quarrel, with or without sufficient cause, but they were the result of years of oppression and maladministration on the part of these very governors and their subordinates. This oppression was due to the fact that the fees of office had been arbitrarily increased in amount and multiplied, until they became, in one sense, more burdensome than direct taxes.

\* "History of the English Colonies in America." p. 26.

It is a notorious fact that the colonial governors were not all models of puritan simplicity and honesty. Many of them did not scruple to avail themselves of their positions to exact as much money as possible from the colonies under their control. The further fact is also well known that insolvents and spendthrifts were frequently given commissions as governors in the American provinces in order to enable them to retrieve their wasted fortunes, or to escape from their creditors.\* Under the proprietary governments the governors were continually tormented by the proprietors to find lucrative places for the latter's friends and relatives. In the charter colonies we find the same state of affairs. The governors themselves often acted in the capacity of judges,† and appointed their own friends and relatives, or worthless favorites of the crown to the subordinate positions. These officials regarded their positions, not as public trusts, but as legitimate sources of revenue, to be used for personal gain.

That this idea was prevalent is shown by the fact that many of the colonial offices were farmed out to unscrupulous deputies who usually succeeded in obtaining large incomes for themselves, in addition to the sums paid to the nominal officers.‡ In this way positions, which normally would have yielded but a few hundred pounds, were made to produce many times that amount. Thus the office of governor of Virginia is reported to have yielded \$80,000 to the nominal governor residing in England, and \$20,000 to the acting governor in the colony.§ The governor of New York is said to have collected \$65,000 a year in land patent

\* See Hildreth's "History of the United States." Vol. II, pp. 216-20.

† The governor of Virginia was also lieutenant-governor, treasurer, chancellor, chief judge of all courts, president of the council, bishop and ordinary. Bancroft's "History of the United States." Vol. III, p. 22.—See also "Civil List of New York," 1887, p. 73.

‡ The extortionate fees collected by the deputy to whom Secretary Randolph of Massachusetts had farmed the post of secretary was one of the grievances of the people against Governor Andros' administration.—See Doyle's "English Colonies in America." Vol. IV, p. 247.

§ Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 235.

fees, besides which the secretary, collector and other officers also received liberal fees for their services.\*

When it is remembered that the regular salaries granted the governors by the colonial assemblies rarely exceeded \$10,000, it is evident that the control exercised by means of the power to regulate taxes was slight compared with the influence which these officials exercised through their power to levy fees. This oftentimes arbitrary power can scarcely be understood by one who is accustomed to the supremacy of law of the nineteenth century. The governors and their subordinates interfered with and levied toll upon nearly every colonial institution; they collected fees for licenses of various kinds, for permits and for privileges of all kinds which the colonists desired. Titles to land were tampered with, in order to increase the income from land patents.† The courts were frequently, and in some colonies constantly, made instruments of extortion,‡ and the right of appeal was rendered worthless, because the same judges often sat in the higher courts, as well as in the lower.§ Matters were even carried to such extremes that new courts|| were created for the special purpose of extracting more fees from the pockets of the people. The formation of new Counties and boroughs was forbidden unless fees were paid to the governor for the privilege.¶ It was through a long series of protests and petty revolutions against such exactions that the people gradually became conscious of their political rights. These disputes were not confined to the legislative bodies, but were of such a

\* *Ibid.*

† Governor Clarke amassed a fortune of \$100,000 in seven years in New York, and Governor Clinton made \$80,000 in a short time. Roberts' "History of New York," p. 256.

‡ "For the sake of acquiring fees he [Governor Sothel of North Carolina] disputed the best of titles, and vexed the fairest traders." Hugh Williamson's, "History of North Carolina." Vol. II, p. 140.

§ See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 204.

|| Court of Chancery established by Governor Ethingham of Virginia. Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 173.

¶ See Lodge's "History of the English Colonies in America," p. 144.



character that the people themselves as individuals were vitally interested. They began to inquire by what authority these so-called fees were collected, and there gradually dawned upon their consciousness the idea that all men are born free and equal, and that the governors should derive their authority from the consent of the governed. It thus appears that the doctrine that taxation without representation is tyranny, was not a new idea which the people had suddenly discovered in 1776, but it had in its essence been discussed and asserted for nearly a century. The conclusion of each dispute left the people more conscious of their political rights, and led to stronger demands for their recognition.

None of the colonies was entirely free from struggles of the kind; all were taught their lesson in political liberty in essentially the same school. The citizens of Massachusetts were repeatedly opposed to their governors on questions of fees of office and official prerogatives. As early as 1634, Governor Winthrop\* was forced by a political revolution to give up his position as magistrate to Governor Dudley, and was compelled to make a statement of his accounts. The fees collected by Governor Andros created such violent opposition that he too was finally displaced.† His successors do not appear to have been less exacting in their demands, for the protests of the colonists became more and more frequent and emphatic. In 1729 the general court, after a protracted quarrel with the governor over the fees of office which he might collect, finally sent a representative to England to lay their grievances before the king.‡ In the State of New Jersey a revolution was begun against Governor Carteret on the very same issue.§

The same spectacle was witnessed again and again in Virginia. The objections to the fees exacted by Governor

\* Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 199.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 111. See also Doyle, Vol. iv, p. 247.

‡ Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 346.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

Berkeley\* resulted in a number of complaints, which were laid before the Royal Commission in 1677. The privy council finally advised the governor to abandon a few fees, especially those claimed for the granting of attorneys' licenses.† This advice did not help matters much, for Governor Effingham,‡ like his predecessors in office, continued to charge excessive fees for probating wills, for land grants and other services. In Maryland the movement is even more marked and shows how completely the people had begun to grasp the idea of popular sovereignty. In a contest over the right of the legislature to regulate the port duty, which up to that time had been collected by the governor, nominally for the support of fortifications, the legislature finally passed a resolution to the effect that:

"It was not their intention to deprive the governor of an honorable support, but only to assert and maintain for themselves, their constituents and posterity that principal and most essential branch of liberty, to which they conceive themselves entitled as subjects of Great Britain, of not being liable to the payment of money, tax impost or duty except such as shall be warranted, raised and assessed by the laws of the province."§

A similar conflict arose in 1754 over the so-called duty on ordinary licenses, which the lower house claimed as public revenue.|| The contest grew fiercer when the governor, in 1770, attempted to regulate the fees for licenses and other privileges, by proclamation.¶ It was contended on the part of the people that these fees were in the nature of taxes, and that any attempt to establish them by proclamation was in reality an assumption of the power to levy taxes without the authority of the assembly. Thus the contest went on year after year, without any material gains on the

\* *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 555. For an account of the struggle over the "pistole" fee for land-patents see Dinwiddie "Papers," Vol. i, pp. 44-47, p. 363 in "Virginia Historical Papers."

† *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 173.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 563.

§ McMahon's "History of Maryland," pp. 179-80.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

¶ Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 568.

side of the people, but they were learning a lesson which many nations have yet to learn, in that their convictions as to their rights and liberties were day by day becoming more firmly fixed.

This is especially apparent if we compare the feebleness and hesitancy of the people in the earlier struggles with the firmness and determination manifested later on. As an example the failure of Bacon's rebellion in Virginia may be directly ascribed to the lack of political self-consciousness and self-assertiveness among the people at large.\* The vacillation manifested in this struggle is quite different from their decisive action in resistance to Governor Dunmore after the passage of the port-bill. In the Carolinas the struggles were even more fierce. The well-known Culpepper insurrection† against Miller was caused by grievances of the same character as those already enumerated, and in 1688 Governor Sothel was driven from the helm for the same reasons.‡ When the legislature of North Carolina attempted to investigate the exorbitant fees collected by Governor Burrington its complaint was rejected as an unconstitutional assumption of authority on the part of the assembly.§ The struggle was continued, however, and even resulted in acts of violence. Many riotous outbreaks were caused more directly by the high land-patent fees collected by Lord Granville's agent.|| The people in the back counties especially had suffered very greatly from extortionate fees exacted by all the petty officers of the court and land offices. The opposition to the collection of these fees developed in 1766 into associations known as "Regulators," whose purpose was to protect the interests of the

\* There were no doubt other reasons which should be taken into consideration, but back of these reasons lies the fact that the people lacked that community of principles and interests which alone can make a revolution successful.

† Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 40; also J. W. Moore, "History of North Carolina," p. 23.

‡ Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 41.

§ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 339; also Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

|| *Ibid.*, pp. 145-46.

people, and oppose the illegal demands of the fee-collectors. The rapid spread of this movement made the associations quite successful at first in resisting the demands of the governor and his agents. The uprising was finally quelled with the aid of troops, after an engagement had been fought at Alamance, in which the Regulators were defeated.

The experience of the other colonies is but a repetition of the foregoing. Frequent outcries were raised, not only against the fees collected by the governors, but against the fees of sheriffs, judges and other inferior officers. In New York, after a long series of contests on just such questions,\* the legislature finally succeeded in gaining partial control over both the appointments of the governors and the fees of office which should be allowed. The liberty-loving settlers of Vermont† rose in open rebellion against the right claimed by Governor Wentworth to charge excessive land-patent fees, and the "Green Mountain Boys," afterward so famous in the revolution, showed thus early that they had convictions concerning their rights and were willing, if necessary, to fight for them.

Through these unsuccessful revolts the people were being led, unconsciously almost, to discuss and formulate their own privileges as opposed to the prerogatives of governors and the crown. In this way the colonists gradually evolved the principles which were afterward laid down in the Declaration of Independence. Furthermore, the disputes tended to keep alive the spirit of liberty better than all the parliamentary struggles between the governors and the legislatures. The colonists were ever on the alert to prevent infringement upon their rights, and were ready to seize upon and overthrow old established prerogatives whenever an opportunity offered itself. It is for this reason that we see the colonial governors, in spite of their aggressiveness,

\* "Civil List of New York," 1887, p. 73. Among the fees collected by Governor Crosby was £150 for a trip to Albany and £750 for services in London.

† Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 164. Ellis H. Roberts' "History of New York," pp. 265-67.

constantly losing ground to these self-assertive frontiersmen.

The final struggle, which resulted in the achievement of American independence, was but a repetition, in a more vigorous form, of the protests which had been lodged again and again against the imposition of illegal and extortionate taxes under the guise of fees. This fact becomes very plain when the circumstances leading up to the passage of the Stamp Acts are explained. It is perhaps well known that no taxes of any importance had been levied on the colonies by parliament up to 1765.\* The intercolonial duties on enumerated articles produced little more than sufficient revenue to pay the expenses of the custom houses, and had for their purpose not revenue, but regulation of trade.† The trifling surplus paid into the British treasuries was a mere incident of that regulation.‡ Yet the colonial custom houses, though hitherto maintained with no intention of collecting taxes, might easily be adapted to that purpose; and as the colonies were already accustomed to the payment of parliamentary duties, they might not readily distinguish between duties for regulation and duties for revenue. The first part of the scheme, submitted by Lord Granville, appears to have proceeded on this idea.§ The second part of the act of 1765 is fully as significant as the first, and was based on the fact that Englishmen in the home country had repeatedly submitted to laws increasing the various license fees, until as license taxes they became an important source of British revenue. Knowing, as the ministry did,

\* Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 518.

† *Ibid.*, p. 213.

‡ Dowell, "History of Taxation in England," Vol. II, p. 147.

§ "Is not the Post Office, which they have long received, a tax as well as a regulation?" was asked Benjamin Franklin in evidence before the committee on the Stamp Act in 1765. He replied: "No, the money paid for the postage of a letter is not in the nature of a tax. It is merely a *quantum meruit* for a service done. No person is compellable to pay money if he does not choose to receive the service. A man may still, as before the act, send his letter by a servant or special messenger or friend if he thinks it cheaper or safer."—Dowell *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 147.

that similar license fees had long been collected by the governors and legislatures of the colonies, they naturally concluded that the same scheme might be applied in the New World, which had been so successfully carried out in the Old. They therefore added a clause to the Stamp Act, providing for the imposition of license taxes on the sale of spirituous liquors and wines. But the colonists had been burdened too long by taxes levied under similar pretexts by their own governors, and were not slow to see through the flimsy pretences of the ministry. Their previous training had taught them the uselessness of verbal and written protests, and caused them to take immediate and decisive action as soon as the passage of the Stamp Act was announced. To this previous training may largely be ascribed the fact that the whole country stood together from the very start, and, that the Western pioneers and frontiersmen were among the first to stand up for the principles over which the revolution was fought. It is thus clear that the colonial fee-system, including its abuses, sustains an important relation to the dissemination and growth of those ideas of freedom and political liberty on which Americans justly pride themselves.

The contention is not here made that the relation is of a causal character, much less that the fee-system is the only cause. The racial characteristics of the settlers, the succession of events which constitutes their history and many other elements must be taken into consideration for a complete solution of the problem. All that is claimed is, that the colonial fee-system furnished a bone of contention about which circled the disputes and struggles which fostered and developed the spirit of liberty and the self-consciousness of the American pioneers.

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## OSCILLATIONS IN POLITICS.

Calhoun's "Disquisition on Government" is in many ways a remarkable document. Written as a party pamphlet, its theme is the necessity of maintaining the balance of power between the North and the South, and the creation for that purpose of a system of dual control of the nation. But this was so obviously impracticable that the treatise may almost be regarded as a confession of failure on the part of the greatest champion of the slave power. Incidentally, however, the "Disquisition" reveals a political insight that enabled the author to foresee more than one of the problems of the present day. His argument in favor of the separate representation of interests, or what he called government by a concurrent majority, as distinguished from the rule of a mere numerical majority resulting from an amorphous universal suffrage, anticipated a discussion now carried on with great activity in Europe; for the recent plans for the apportionment of members of the legislature among bodies of voters grouped together according to their occupations\* is based upon precisely the principle that Calhoun advocated. Both involve the organic recognition of the different interests in the community.

To students of contemporary American politics, on the other hand, the following passage is extremely suggestive:

"Each party must be alternately forced, in order to insure victory, to resort to measures to concentrate the control over its movements in fewer and fewer hands, as the struggle became more and more violent. This, in process of time, must lead to party organization, and party caucuses and discipline; and these, to the conversion of the honors and emoluments of the government into means of rewarding partisan services, in order to secure the fidelity and increase the zeal of the members of the party. The effect of the whole combined, even in the earlier stages of the process, when they exert the least pernicious influence, would be to place the control of the two parties in the hands of their respective majorities;

\* Cf. Charles Benoist, "*La crise de l'état moderne*."

and the government itself, virtually, under the control of the majority of the dominant party, for the time, instead of the majority of the whole community; where the theory of this form of government vests it. Thus, in the very first stage of the process, the government becomes the government of a minority instead of a majority; a minority, usually, and under the most favorable circumstances, of not much more than one-fourth of the whole community.

"But the process, as regards the concentration of power, would not stop at this stage. The government would gradually pass from the hands of the majority of the party into those of its leaders; as the struggle became more intense, and the honors and emoluments of the government the all-absorbing objects. At this stage, principles and policy would lose all influence in the elections; and cunning, falsehood, deception, slander, fraud, and gross appeals to the appetites of the lowest and most worthless portions of the community, would take the place of sound reason and wise debate. After these have thoroughly debased and corrupted the community, and all the arts and devices of party have been exhausted, the government would vibrate between the two factions (for such will parties have become) at each successive election. Neither would be able to retain power beyond some fixed term; for those seeking office and patronage would become too numerous to be rewarded by the offices and patronage at the disposal of the government; and these being the sole objects of pursuit, the disappointed would, at the next succeeding election, throw their weight into the opposite scale, in the hope of better success at the next turn of the wheel."

So far as this prophecy relates to an increase in the power of the party machine, to a growth of the influence of a ring, and finally to the evolution of a Boss, it has been signally fulfilled; and it may be of interest to inquire how far the prediction of party oscillations has been verified also.

The tendency of late years to a change of party at each presidential election is a matter of common observation and has been likened to the swing of a pendulum. It is worth while, therefore, to examine whether this has been a mere accident, or whether it is likely to prove a permanent phenomenon produced by some deep-seated cause. The results of any particular election can, no doubt, be explained by a



reference to the circumstances under which it took place, to the nature of the issues presented, to the reputation of the candidates and to the state of prosperity or depression of industry at the moment; and yet if the phenomenon is repeated with great regularity for a considerable length of time we should be justified in concluding that it is due to some enduring cause, and that the form in which the issues are presented is itself a result of that cause. This does not mean that any such tendency to oscillation is paramount. At the most it is only one of many influences in politics, and like other tendencies it will produce its normal effects only so far as it is not counteracted by other forces. Oscillations that might occur with regularity in ordinary times will, of course, be entirely interrupted whenever some overmastering issue arises, like that which culminated here in the Civil War. Hence we ought not to expect to find them at times when the nation is grappling with an unusually momentous question. They are important enough to merit observation if they are found to have a sensible influence on current politics in tranquil periods.

The first great party contest in the United States, that between the Federalists and the Republicans, followed the course that political philosophers have generally thought natural. The Federalist party, which represented the positive side of the issue, had for its true mission the creation and setting in motion of a strong national government. When this task was done its mission was fulfilled, and falling from power it faded entirely away. It was not pushed aside by a new issue which divided men on new lines. It simply died of inanition, and for a short time there were no true party divisions at all. This period of American history is known as the era of good feeling, and it covered the two administrations of Monroe. With the election of John Quincy Adams parties reappeared, and soon became exceeding vigorous; but although some of the new party principles were similar to the old ones, and it has been the

common habit to attribute a continuity to the political struggles throughout the history of the nation, a profound change took place in the very nature of party—a change that separates the Whigs and Democrats sharply from the Federalists and Republicans of the preceding generation. This change was due to the growth of the democratic spirit, and the extension of the suffrage to which it gave rise. Its effect was quickly seen in the party machinery, which became more democratic and more highly organized. The direction of a few authoritative leaders gave way before the desire of the mass of voters for a share of influence, and state and national conventions supplanted the older method of nominating the president and the governors by means of the congressional and legislative caucus. In 1832 presidential candidates were nominated for the first time by national conventions. By 1840, the new system had become firmly rooted; and it is between these two dates that the tendency to political oscillation begins.

The first diagram on the first page of charts at the end of this paper shows the result of national elections from 1836 to the present day; the solid lines indicating the electoral vote for president, the dotted lines the proportion of congressmen chosen by each party. The popular vote is not inserted, because it merely complicates the chart, and has no real value for our purpose. In many of the Southern states, for example, the popular vote has not been given since the war a true picture of the relative size of the two parties; and, in fact, the total popular vote is a very imperfect test of party strength whenever representatives are chosen in separate districts. In the close constituencies the effort to bring out the vote is more strenuous, and the proportion of citizens who go to the polls is greater than in places where the result is a foregone conclusion; and thus the total vote may be quite different from what it would be if the whole country were a single constituency. The object of each party is the election of the largest possible number of

electors or congressmen, and if the districts are not greatly or unfairly changed, the variations in the number of districts carried by a party is the best test of its gain or loss of strength.

In this diagram the percentage of Democrats is represented by the perpendicular distance from the year line of the chart to the point marked, while the distance from that point to the opposite line shows the percentage of Whigs or Republicans. Where one or more other parties elected candidates two points are marked and the space between them represents the percentage of persons chosen who do not belong to either of the two leading parties. In 1892, for example, the Republicans carried 32.66 per cent of the electoral vote, the Democrats 62.39 per cent and the Populists 4.95 per cent.

The rise or fall of the lines between the marked points represents, of course, the gain or loss of the two great parties, and an examination of the chart for the first sixteen years shows the presidential line passing alternately above and below the centre at each successive election. This continued until after 1852, when the predominance of the question of slavery destroyed the balance of parties. In 1856 the Whigs had ceased to exist, while the new Republican party had not developed strength enough to carry the country, and thus the Democrats elected their president for two terms in succession. Four years later the Republican victory was followed by the Civil War and the period of reconstruction, during which a large section of the country either did not vote at all, or did so under strained and abnormal conditions. Under such conditions a change of party could hardly have been expected, and anything like a regular change every four years was, of course, out of the question. Nevertheless it may be observed that after 1860 the presidential line alternately rose and fell at each successive election, although it did not come near the central line until 1876. After that time a regular political oscillation

again set in, and has continued to the present day. Such an oscillation has, therefore, been a constant phenomenon in presidential elections ever since political parties became firmly established with their modern organization, except during the twenty-four years when the civil war and the conditions that immediately preceded and followed it produced an abnormal state of affairs.

If now, we look at the congressional line we find that at the election next following the choice of a president there has almost invariably been a reaction against the party in power; and that in normal times this has usually, though by no means always, lost a part of its force two years later. A close observation shows that when the president and the majority in congress have belonged to the same political party the reaction has usually been sharper than when they have belonged to different parties; and that when it has been strong enough to throw the majority in congress into opposition to the president a counter reaction has always set in at the next congressional election. These facts are significant, for they seem to point to the conclusion that the oscillations in politics are due to discontent with the party in power. We shall return to that question later.

The elections to the English parliament exhibit a similar tendency, although it is much more recent. There have, indeed, been oscillations in English politics ever since the death of Queen Anne, but the periods covered by the rule of one party or the other have been so great as to place them in quite a different category from the rapid vibrations we are considering. After the death of Anne the country was ruled by the Whigs for more than a generation. Then, after a time of uncertainty, the Tories got the upper hand, and with a few short intermissions retained power from the accession of Lord North in 1770 until the reform bill of 1832. The turn of the Liberals came once more, and they remained the dominant party for a generation and a half. The only serious break in their ascendancy was at the time

of the administration of Sir Robert Peel in 1841; for although the quarrels among the Liberals three times enabled Lord Derby to form a conservative ministry, no one of these had the support of a party majority in parliament. Lord Derby came into office because the Liberal majority was temporarily disintegrated; and on each occasion the Conservatives, after holding office a short time, dissolved the house of commons and appealed to the people, only to find themselves confronted with a Liberal majority sufficiently reunited to come back to power. In 1868, however, a change began in English political life. The reform bill of 1832 had disfranchised rotten boroughs and recognized the political importance of the new industrial towns. It had also equalized and extended the franchise, but it by no means created a democratic electorate. The reform bill of 1868, on the other hand, placed the franchise in the boroughs on a really wide basis, almost doubling at a stroke the total number of voters in England and Wales. This change has been followed by a series of rapid oscillations, a tendency that seems to have become even more accentuated since the act of 1885 made a corresponding extension of the suffrage in the counties, and added over a million and a half more names to the voting lists.

The second diagram on the first page of the charts marks the party fluctuations in the house of commons since 1832. The heavy line shows the division between the supporters of the government and the opposition, the lighter lines the fractions of which each party is composed; the distance above the heavy line representing the percentage of Liberals, the distance below it the percentage of Conservatives. To make the situation clear the different administrations are also indicated. The regular oscillations may be observed beginning at the time of the reform bill of 1868. The first election after the passage of that measure gave a large majority to the Liberals; at the next the scale turned in favor of the Conservatives; and at the third the Liberals

were again victorious. The fourth election, in 1885, resulted in a tie, the forces that had supported Gladstone's cabinet, and those which had hitherto opposed it, being almost exactly equal. The Liberals carried, in fact, 331 seats out of 660, a margin so narrow as to make a stable administration impossible; but by winning the support of the Irish Home Rulers, who had been in opposition during the last parliament, Mr. Gladstone succeeded in obtaining a majority in the house of commons.\* The election of 1886, which followed the defeat of his home rule bill, gave the control of parliament to the Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists, who have acted together ever since. But the majority again passed to the Liberals in 1892, and returned to the Conservatives in 1895. Thus it has happened that since the extension of the suffrage in 1868 a change of party has taken place at every election except that of 1885, in which from the point of view of political oscillations the parties were evenly balanced.

The length of time during which these phenomena have occurred in national elections in England and the United States is too short, and the total number of oscillations that have taken place is too small, to form a basis for a satisfactory induction; and yet it is not easy to get any light from the experience of other countries. Regular alternations in power of opposing parties are obviously out of the question where the parties are never in power at all—that is, where the ministers are appointed by an hereditary monarch, and are not politically responsible to the representatives of the people. This is the case in the German Empire and in all the states of which it is composed.† It is also substantially true of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Nor is there any

\* The Liberal cabinet had been defeated on the budget in June, 1885, and resigned. The Conservative ministry that followed it never had a majority in the commons, and resigned on a defeat on the address at the assembling of the new parliament.

† Hamburg, Bremen and Lubeck are republics, but their senates and magistrates are not elected by the people, or responsible in the parliamentary sense to the elective representative bodies.

use in looking for political oscillations in countries like Spain and Servia, where the government has such an influence over the voters that it always procures the election of a majority of its own supporters. Where this happens a general election is not a genuine test of public opinion, and the parliament does not really represent the electorate. Popular government exists in form, but only in form. The nations where rulers always carry the elections stand at one end of the scale of democratic evolution, while at the other end, where popular government has reached its highest development, it would seem that a general election tends always to go against the party in power.

There remain the European nations where the executive is under the control of true representative bodies, but where popular government is of recent origin. In most of them instead of two great parties we find a number of small groups, the government being always in the hands of an ephemeral coalition of some sort. Under these circumstances alternation in power is impossible, for there can be an alternation only when there are two opposing parties which are sharply separated from one another, and between which the voters are obliged to choose. For this reason oscillations such as we are considering could hardly take place in France or in Italy, and we may add, in Austria or in Portugal. In France there have, indeed, been a number of changes of party within the century, and they have occurred with a good deal of regularity. Every new form of government has been the work of a new party and each form of government has been so closely associated in the public mind with the party which created it that there has never been a change of party without a revolution.\* But these violent upheavals which have occurred once in fifteen or twenty years are less nearly akin to rapid political

\* The replacing of a Reactionary by a Republican cabinet after the elections of 1877 is not really an exception, because this was a case of frustrating an attempt of the Reactionaries to obtain control of the state, rather than of turning out a party that had once been firmly established in power.

oscillations than to the changes of party that formerly took place in England at long intervals.

Three or four of the European nations require a special explanation. In Hungary no administration has ever been upset by a hostile vote in parliament, or by a reverse at the polls. In fact since constitutional government became operative in 1867 there has been only a single change of party and that took the form of a combination between the opposition and a section of the majority. The condition is due to the prominence of the question of race which overshadows all other issues, for on this the Magyars, who are the ruling people, are nearly solidly united. The presence of that question holds them together and prevents normal party divisions and fluctuations.

In Holland there have long been three parties, the Catholics, the Conservative Protestants (or anti-Revolutionaries) and the Liberals; and within the last few years the Liberals have broken into two hostile groups. The existence of more than two parties, the fact that the cause of division between them has been chiefly a religious question, on which men are peculiarly slow to change their minds, and the narrow franchise, which extended before 1887 to only one person in thirty of the population, are surely enough to account for the lack of party fluctuations. The Liberals, indeed, had an almost constant majority in the popular chamber from the revision of the constitution until the extension of the suffrage in 1887. The number of voters was then raised from 135,000 to 350,000, and since that time there have been three changes of ministry so complete that each side of the chamber has been twice in power and twice in opposition—an approach certainly to a regular party oscillation.

Belgium, which has copied the English form of government more closely than any other country in Europe, has until recently had only two parties, the Catholics and the Liberals; and these have been alternately in power, the



Liberals having had three, and the Catholics four, administrations since 1846. But there has been nothing like a change of party at every election. In fact, the Liberals once held office for nearly thirteen years without a break, and the Catholics have now been in power continuously since 1884. The absence of rapid fluctuations is not, however, hard to explain. It is no doubt due partly to the religious questions on which the parties have been divided, and partly to the extremely restricted suffrage that prevailed before 1894, the total number of voters being only 135,000, or only about one-thirtieth of the total population.

In Switzerland, the only country in Europe that has a popular government and has not adopted the parliamentary system, the conditions are unique. The strength of the different parties has, of late years, been extraordinarily constant and their fluctuations have been remarkably slow. This results from causes that can only be suggested here.\* One of them is the fact that the executive body of the nation, the Federal Council, is not composed of the members of a single party. Another is the smallness of the state, and especially the minute size of the electoral districts, for it is true of bodies politic, as of sheets of water, that a certain magnitude is necessary to allow the formation of a perceptible tide. A third cause is the referendum, which neutralizes to some extent the importance of party. In fact, the rejection of laws by popular vote seems to take the place of a change of party. It acts as a sort of safety valve for discontent and for that resentment against the public authorities which is the chief motive for turning out the party in power. It appears, moreover, to be intermittent; although the length of time the referendum has been in use in the confederation is too short to justify a positive conclusion on this point. The following diagram gives a chronological arrangement of the measures passed by the national legis-

\* For a more extended discussion of this subject, see the writer's "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe," cap. xiii.

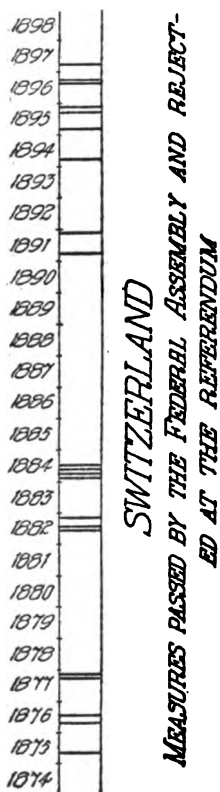
lature and rejected at the polls. It will be seen that there have been three great periods of rejection—in 1875-77, 1882-84 and 1894-97—and that after each of these periods either the legislators have learned prudence or the popular

resentment has exhausted itself by explosion, and a quiet time has ensued. It may be added that there are more than two Swiss parties, and that the party lines are not very sharply drawn.

Finally Greece has had for the last fifteen years a change of party at each election, but this isolated example may well be the result of peculiar conditions. In short, we do not find in Continental Europe, and for one reason or another one should hardly expect to find, any considerable amount of evidence to establish or disprove the tendency to rapid political oscillations in a modern democracy.

The British colonies might be supposed to offer a more promising field, but unfortunately this is not the case. It has already been pointed out that alternations in power can occur only when the community is divided into two distinct and antagonistic parties. If there are a number of groups so that the overthrow of an administration means only a fresh coalition containing many of the former elements, or

if party lines are not clearly drawn so that a general election does not result in a definite victory for a compact party which remains in control until the next general election, the alternation in power of two rival parties is manifestly out of the question. Now that is the condition of the Australasian



colonies. Parliamentary government there has not produced its normal effect of a sharp division of the legislature and the electorate into two great parties. On the contrary its results have been similar to those of France and Italy. The ministers have yielded to the pressure of individual representatives, who have in their turn catered to the wishes of their constituents; and thus politics have turned largely on the satisfaction of personal and local interests. This has, of course, blurred party lines, and brought about a state of constant instability in the cabinets, without real alternations of power between the parties.

The experience of Canada has been very different. Here there have been, as a rule, two parties, both in the dominion parliament and in the assemblies of the provinces; and the tenure of office by these parties has proved remarkably stable. In the provincial assemblies the members have, indeed, been in the habit of calling themselves by various political names, but their position as supporters or opponents of the ministry of the province is usually well defined. Moreover, the parties in local legislatures are, with a couple of exceptions, the same as those in the dominion parliament; and yet the Canadian parties present an extremely perplexing problem. In spite of the fact that the contests in both national and provincial elections are in the main between Conservatives and Liberals, the result in one appears to have had no connection with the result in the other, or rather a success in one seems, if anything, to have accompanied the opposite result in the other. In Ontario, for example, the majority of the assembly has been Liberal for thirty years, but in five out of the eight elections to the dominion parliament that have taken place during that time, and in four out of the last five of them, Ontario has elected more Conservatives than Liberals. In Nova Scotia the same thing is true to a still greater extent. Since 1882 her assembly has been very heavily Liberal, and yet two-thirds of her representatives at Ottawa were Conservatives until

the election of 1896 when they were evenly divided. The strange condition has, indeed, gone so far that at one moment the dominion parliament was Conservative while, with the single exception of Prince Edward Island, every provincial assembly where national party lines were drawn was controlled by the Liberals. This may be seen in the diagram which shows the fluctuations that have occurred since the formation of the confederation in the relative strength of the Conservatives and Liberals in the various legislative bodies (the distance from the year line representing the Liberal strength, that to the opposite line the Conservative). It is not easy to explain such a curious state of things. No doubt the astute and not over scrupulous manipulation of Sir John Macdonald, whose two administrations covered together a space of nineteen years, had a good deal to do with it; but this alone is hardly enough to account for the result. The writer has heard other explanations given; such as the fact that the strongest men belonging to the party in power in the dominion are drawn away from the provinces, and hence the preponderance of political ability at home rests with their opponents, who are thus enabled to control the local elections. Another suggestion is that the men who have no chance at Ottawa devote their attention to the provincial governments and by controlling the local patronage are enabled to keep themselves in office. An objection to these two suppositions arises, however, from the absence of any similar tendency in the United States. A third explanation is found in the skillful gerrymandering of the federal electoral districts. None of these suggestions is entirely satisfactory; but whatever the cause may be, it is clear that the condition of Canadian politics has effectually precluded any regular alternation in power of the opposing parties, both in the dominion parliament and in the provincial legislatures.\*

\* The only other British colony large enough to have a political oscillation is Cape Colony, and so far as this has well defined parties at all, they are based on

A survey of modern popular governments shows that the conditions under which rapid political oscillations can be expected to occur—a wide franchise coupled with a division into two sharply defined parties—scarcely exist except in Great Britain and North America; and that where in other countries those conditions are partially realized there is, on the whole, a tendency more or less pronounced toward an alternation in power. We are, therefore, justified in asserting that, if outside of England and America there is little evidence to support a theory of political oscillation, there is at least no evidence to contradict it; for Canada, the only country in which the essential conditions are present, has been clearly in an abnormal state.

Finding that no light on the subject could be obtained save in England and the United States, and feeling that the parliamentary, congressional and presidential elections do not afford sufficient ground for a general induction, the writer was led to examine the results in the several states of the Union. If a tendency to political oscillation really exists, its effects ought to be traceable in the state elections. But here there are two tendencies or forces at work instead of one; for the state election is affected by the currents of both national and state politics. The vote for governor is influenced not only by approval or dislike of the course pursued in the state by the party in power there, but also, and often to a much greater extent, by the popularity or distrust of the national administration, and by the desire to help some national policy, such as protection or tariff reform, the maintenance of the gold standard or the free coinage of silver. In short, the vote in state elections is the resultant of two political tendencies, one local and the other national, and these may be working in the same direction, so that their joint effect is greater than either of them would have

the lack of harmony between the Dutch and the English citizens, a matter on which oscillations could hardly take place.

The South American republics are, of course, out of the question for the purpose of this inquiry.

produced alone, or they may be working in opposite directions, and thus neutralize one another. Now, the problem before us is to isolate the state tendency, to try to discover what effect it would have if it were acting by itself. Assuming that the national tendency is indicated by the national elections, the problem is to eliminate the result of that force, and leave only the separate effect of the state tendency. In the case of physical forces this operation is simple, because, owing to the law of the conservation of energy, the combined effect of several forces acting upon a body is determined by the parallelogram of forces. Two forces, each of which acting alone would carry a body ten feet north, will together carry it twenty feet north; and hence it is easy to combine vibrations, or given one of two vibrations and the total result, to ascertain the other vibration. But we cannot assume that the same principle applies to human conduct. We do not know that emotional energy is constant, much less what the direction of emotion means. We are not warranted in supposing that two motives, each of which alone would increase the Republican vote by 10 per cent, would together increase it by 20 per cent; or that if one motive acting by itself would increase the vote 10 per cent, and another would diminish it by the same amount, the two acting at the same time would exactly neutralize one another. And yet, although the joint effect of several motives cannot be computed with accuracy like the resultant curve of waves in water, the same principle may be applied for the purpose of approximation. It is not unreasonable to assume that, in the vast majority of cases, two tendencies, each of which, by itself, would increase the Republican vote, will together increase it more than either of them would alone; and similarly that a tendency, which by itself would decrease the Republican vote, will counteract to some extent another tendency which by itself would increase that vote. Without claiming, therefore, that the result obtained is strictly accurate, the principle of the

composition of vibrations may be applied to the tendencies at work in elections for the purpose of obtaining an approximate result.

As the strength with which the national tendency operates in the states is not a fixed quantity, but varies from place to place, it cannot be eliminated by a simple calculation. Its strength can be determined, and at the same time the nature of the state tendency can be found, only by experiment. Relying on the regular oscillation in the presidential elections from 1868 to 1885, when the Republican party was continuously in power, the writer tried first to combine the national and state tendencies on the theory of an oscillation in state politics alternately in favor of one party and then of the other at each successive election. But this yielded nothing that agreed with the actual returns. An attempt was then made to combine them on the theory that there is always a tendency to react against the party in power in the state, and the results thus obtained were decidedly encouraging.

The process was as follows: Taking the congressional elections, on account of their frequency, as the best test of the national tendency, the percentage of Republicans and Democrats at each of these elections were plotted on a chart, and the points thus found connected by a curve, or rather a continuous broken line. The rise or fall of the line between any two points thus represents the gain or loss of the party in the nation from one election to the other; and this combined in the right proportion with the tendency to react against the party in power in the state ought, upon the theory assumed, to give the gain or loss of the party in the state between two state elections occurring at the same time as the two national elections. If the national and state elections do not occur in the same year, if, for example, the state elections take place in 1889 and 1891, while the national elections fall on the even years, it is necessary to estimate the condition of the national parties in 1891, and this was done by taking a mean between

the results of 1890 and those of 1892. Thus if the strength of the Democrats, as shown by the proportion of representatives elected, fell in these two years from 70 per cent to 60 per cent, it was estimated that in 1891 it had fallen one-half of that amount and stood at 65 per cent. Such an assumption is, perhaps, sufficiently accurate for the approximate result which we are seeking.

The actual numerical effect of the national tendency on the vote at state elections cannot be computed *a priori*. It is evident in the first place that the percentage of the members of the national house of representatives elected by a party does not indicate its exact proportional strength in the country; for if one party polls 60 per cent of the popular vote it will probably elect far more than 60 per cent of the representatives. Or, as we are considering not the actual strength of the parties, but the fluctuations in their strength—not quantities, but increments—we may put the statement in this form. If one party increases its percentage of the popular vote by 10 per cent, the increase of its representatives will be far more than 10 per cent. This is, of course, due to the fact that in every election many districts are close, and a comparatively small increase of votes for one party will change the result in a disproportionately large number of districts. The percentage of increase of a party in congress is, therefore, an exaggeration of the real national tendency. To get the true tendency, we must take some fraction of that increase. Moreover, as I have already said, the strength of the national tendency varies in the different states, and the fraction of the congressional change that must be taken for any state can be determined only by experiment. When found, that fraction, or modulus, is, however, tolerably constant for any particular state. In New York, for example, and in several other states, the modulus was found to be one-fifth, so that, if during any period the Republicans made a gain of 10 per cent in the house of representatives, this national party fluctuation has



the effect of adding 2 per cent to the Republican vote in New York.

The strength of the tendency to react against the party in power in the state also varies from state to state, and can be found only by experiment. This I call the state modulus, to distinguish it from the national modulus for the state. Where it is distinctly recognizable it is usually 1 or 2 per cent, though in some places it is much larger.

In applying this theory the writer has taken the elections for governor as the best criterion of the relative strength of the parties in state politics. In testing its soundness he has taken the popular vote at each gubernatorial election, calculated by means of the national modulus for the state the gain or loss to be expected at the next election from the trend of national politics, and by means of the state modulus the gain or loss to be expected from a reaction against the party in power in the state, and then compared the result thus computed with the actual result of the next election. It is evident that if the theory is correct the two results ought to be approximately in accord; and they do agree year after year in a number of states. The process not only gives the fact of gain or loss correctly in a very large proportion of the elections, but often indicates its amount also with no little accuracy.

In many of the states the theory has no application, and could not, indeed, be expected to apply. They fall into two categories. First the very small states, like Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Delaware and some of the new states in the West, which are not large enough to develop a true political tide; and secondly, states where one party has such an overwhelming preponderance that a change of party is utterly out of the question. This last is the case throughout the greater part of the solid South, and in a few of the extreme northern states; and during the Civil War and the period of reconstruction it was true also of many other states in the North. Under such conditions any serious tendency

to react against the party in power in the state is excluded by the nature of the case, and the gain or loss of votes is largely a matter of accident. The leading party may, of course, break in two, as the Populists have in places broken away from the Democrats in the South, but up to the present time this has been quite a different phenomenon from the one we are considering. In view of these conditions we should naturally look for oscillations chiefly in the tier of great middle and northern states, and it is here, in fact, that we find the most marked verifications of the theory.

In the remaining diagrams at the end of this paper the heavy black lines indicate the actual percentage of the party votes for governor, the dotted lines the votes to be expected on the basis of the computation already described—the Democrats being represented by the distance to the left side, and the Republicans by that to the opposite side; while the name of the state, the national modulus and the state modulus are given below. The period represented begins in 1870, for although, in some of the states, such as New York, New Jersey and Indiana, the actual and computed results are in accord from the time of the foundation of the Republican party, in many others the tendency to oscillation did not make its appearance until later. For the reasons already given the diagrams do not include the states which are very small, or have been so very recently; nor the states that have belonged continuously to one political party, such as Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Minnesota\* in the North, and the states in the South which have not elected a Republican governor since the era of reconstruction. All the other states are included, although in several of them the computed oscillation is not very close to the real one.

An examination of the diagrams shows a number of general facts. It may be observed, for example, that, as a

\* In New Hampshire a Democratic governor has not been elected since 1874. In the other three states every governor has been Republican since the outbreak of the civil war. New Hampshire and Vermont might also have been omitted on the ground of size.

rule, the oscillations are greater in degree when the term for which the governor is chosen is short, and the elections are frequent. This is no doubt because the reaction against the party in power is rapid both in the state and in the nation, and if the next election does not take place for some time a counter-reaction has time to set in. It may be observed also that the actual and the computed oscillations agree, on the whole, better in the states where the parties are nearly evenly balanced than in those where one party has a very decided preponderance. Moreover, they agree better where the governors are elected in the congressional years than when they are chosen in the off years, because there is no accurate means of finding the exact national tendency in the off years. We can only guess at it by assuming that it is midway between the results of the congressional elections which precede and follow it. Finally, it will be seen that in 1896 the actual and computed results are far apart in nearly one half of the states. This is due to the sectional nature of the issue on which the election turned. During the rest of the period covered by these diagrams there was a general national tide setting in favor of one party or the other, and affecting in the same way, to a greater or less extent almost all the states under consideration. But in 1896 there were two tides setting in opposite directions in different parts of the country. Instead of a general tendency in favor of one party, the purely agricultural states moved toward Bryan and free silver, while the sections where commerce and manufactures were important moved toward McKinley and the gold standard; and thus the Republicans gained heavily in many states in spite of their general loss of strength as shown by the result of the congressional elections. This exception is of the kind that helps to prove the rule, for it shows that a mere careful adjustment of the proportions of state and national tendencies will not suffice to give any desired result. It shows that when the theory does not apply at all, the

divergence between the actual and computed results is liable to be very great.

Let us examine the diagrams for the several states.

*Massachusetts.* Here, except for 1896, the actual and computed results agree, on the whole, fairly well in the congressional years. From 1878 to 1894, the computed line is a little inclined to run lower than it ought, but it is certainly noteworthy that on the only three occasions since the war when Democratic governors have been elected the computed or dotted line falls rapidly below or near the centre. Moreover, in the first two cases the dotted line immediately returns above the centre, and in fact a Democrat was elected only once, whereas in 1890-93 when a Democrat was elected for three successive years the dotted line remains well below the centre during that whole period. In the odd years, on the other hand, the actual and computed lines are by no means always in accord. This is partly for the reason already explained, that we do not really know the national tendency in those years, and partly because such a tendency has less effect in the off years and thus allows other motives a greater proportionate influence. In 1877 and 1879, for example, there was a strong reaction against the party in power in the state which was partly checked the next year.

*Connecticut.* The only divergence of any consequence between the actual and the computed lines, save that of 1896, is found in 1892, when the proportion of the parties remained unchanged, whereas, according to the computation, a heavy Democratic gain might have been expected. From 1884 to 1890 inclusive, the Democratic candidate for governor received a plurality of the vote, but as the legislature has power to choose the governor in case none of the candidates receives a majority of the popular vote, and, as the legislature was Republican, it elected a governor of its own party. During these years, therefore, the Republicans were the party in power in the state.

*New York.* Here the only divergence, except that of

1896, is the rise in the computed line in 1888. But from 1885 to 1888, the legislature was continuously Republican, and this tended to counteract any reaction against the Democratic governor. If such a reaction were omitted the two lines would agree at this point.

*New Jersey.* The actual and computed lines never vary in direction and very little in amount. It may be noted that where there is a third candidate the important line is that of the dominant party; here the Democratic, not the Republican line.

*Pennsylvania.* Here also the two lines never vary in direction, and after 1875 they vary little in amount.

*Ohio.* As the state elections come in the odd years, the computation ought not to be expected to agree very closely with the actual results, and yet the only serious departure is in 1879-81. This is, however, so great that the dotted line is started afresh in 1881.

*Indiana.* The computed line is almost parallel with that of the Republican party.

*Illinois.* Here, again, the computed line is almost parallel with that of the Republican party, except for 1892-96 where the direction of the change is correct, but the amount is not.

*Michigan.* The computed line is exceedingly accurate, except that it minimizes the gain of the Republicans in 1872 and exaggerates their loss in 1892.

*Wisconsin.* The computed line fails entirely to indicate the sudden drop of the Republican vote at the election of 1873. From 1875 to 1888 the continuous existence of a large third party makes the chart of party fluctuations somewhat meaningless, a state of things that is true of all the states west of Lake Michigan.\* During this time the dotted line runs with little variation between the two chief parties. From 1888 to 1894 the computed result is decidedly accurate.

\* For this reason, as well as on account of the short period during which it has had a large population, Nebraska is not included in these charts.

*Iowa.* In spite of the fact that the state elections take place in the off years the two lines agree well enough, except during the time when the Greenbackers came in as a third party to disturb the current of politics.

*Kansas.* Here the elections take place in the congressional years, and except during the existence of the Greenback party, the two lines agree very well. The only very marked divergences are the exaggerations of the changes in 1874 and 1894.

*California.* The results of computation here are certainly surprisingly correct when we consider that a large third party has been almost constantly present. It is interesting to note the great influence of state as compared with national politics. In none of the other states in the charts is the state modulus nearly so large as in California.

We now come to the border states which have at one time or another broken away from the Solid South, and among them is included Missouri, for although she has not elected a Republican governor since 1870, her Republican party has always been strong enough to poll a very large minority of the votes.

*Maryland.* The fluctuations here are very slight, but the computed line follows the actual one well enough after 1879.

*West Virginia.* Here the two lines agree quite closely, except in 1884, and at that time the defeated candidate was not a Republican but a Fusionist. The proportion of votes cast in the state in the same year for the presidential electors of the two parties is indicated almost exactly by the point found by computation. It may be added that the result given for 1880 is merely approximate. The exact figures were not published in the "Tribune Almanac," nor is there any record of them in the office of the secretary of state of West Virginia.

*Kentucky.* The two lines in this state agree well enough after 1879, save that the Republican gain in 1895 is exaggerated.

*Tennessee.* The result here is on the whole fairly correct, the most marked defect being the failure to show the Democratic loss in 1884.

*Missouri.* Here finally the computed line follows that of the Democratic, or dominant, party with great accuracy until the anomalous election of 1896.

In these diagrams of the state elections the computation would seem to be in accord with the facts too large a part of the time for a mere fortuitous coincidence. Taking the results in connection with the changes of party at the elections for president, for congress and for parliament, we are surely justified in thinking that a tendency to oscillation probably enters as a factor into political fluctuations in England and the United States; that this factor is permanent, in the sense that its effects are distinctly perceptible when other more powerful influences do not intervene; and that it is based on a reaction against the party in power, whatever that may happen to be.

In seeking for the causes of such a tendency one must first note that the oscillations could not take place at all if either of the parties persistently advocated a policy that remained unpopular. But in fact, the great parties in really democratic nations no longer stand for abstract principles without regard to their popularity. They urge only programs for which there is at least a reasonable prospect of securing immediate support; and if a policy is permanently unpopular it is abandoned. While preserving enough distinctive character to justify their existence they try to come as near to the centre of gravity of public opinion as they can. This has its good as well as its bad side. The bad is self-evident and perhaps outweighs the good. It is the substitution of success for principle as the aim and end of public life; while the good side is found in the fact that political leaders have learned to strive to effectuate so much of their principles as is attainable, instead of clinging obstinately to ideals which cannot possibly be realized. In short, parties in England

and America have become instruments of government, rather than collections of men holding similar opinions.

Subject to this essential condition the tendency to oscillation may be ascribed to a variety of causes, each of which contributes something toward the result. The most obvious is that every elected body represents its constituents very imperfectly. Representative government has neither proved a panacea for all social ills, nor has it worked to the entire satisfaction of the voters; and schemes of all sorts, such as direct popular legislation, proportional representation, and the grouping of electors by occupations instead of districts, are persistently urged as remedies. Whether any of them would mend the matter may be doubtful, but the amount of support they receive is strong evidence of the defects of the representative system. Now what is true of the whole elected body is true also of the parties within it. The majority in congress or in parliament does not reflect exactly the opinions of the party that elected it, and the more highly the parties are organized the more obvious this becomes. Moreover, it is absolutely impossible for an American president, or even for an English cabinet, to represent all the varying shades of opinion in the party, and hence there are always a number of people who feel that the men they supported do not really express their views, and who are ready at the next election to vote for the other party or to stay away from the polls altogether.

Closely connected with this cause is another. When a party has come into power, much of its action is directed by a fraction, at the best a majority, of its members, and this gives rise to discontented elements within its ranks. In a perfect democracy, indeed, the government would, of necessity, be, as Calhoun pointed out, mainly in the hands of a majority of a majority, which usually means a minority of the whole people; and, if the democracy is not perfect, but is twisted out of shape by elaborate party organizations, the ruling minority is likely to be smaller still. All this was



not so important in the last century, when the policy of the party was dictated by a few leaders who were more obediently followed by their supporters than is the case to-day. In America, moreover, discontent within the party is increased by the spoils system, for, to quote again from Calhoun, the applicants for places are "too numerous to be rewarded by the offices and patronage at the disposal of the government;" and some of the disappointed "at the next succeeding election, throw their weight into the opposite scale, in hopes of better success at the next turn of the wheel."

Something must also be attributed to the theory suggested by Sir Henry Maine to account for the frequent rejection by the Swiss of laws passed by their representatives. He pointed out that a man may very well approve of a policy when set forth in general terms, and yet find when it is actually embodied in a statute that it contains many things repugnant to him. A man may, for example, vote for a candidate with the sole object of procuring the enactment of a protective tariff, or a tariff for revenue only, and yet when the act is passed he may find that it injures his business in ways that he did not anticipate. In Switzerland, in such a case, he votes against the law at the referendum. In England or in America he often becomes disgusted and stays at home or votes for the opposing candidate at the next election, and thus he deserts his party for doing the very thing he helped it to do.

Another potent cause of political oscillation results from the drift toward paternal government. The great increase in the functions of the state, and the widespread faith in the possibility of regenerating the world by legislation, coupled with the exigencies of political warfare, have led the people to expect, and the parties to promise, more than any government can perform. The hopes that cannot be fulfilled lead naturally to disappointment, and the public, which always clamors for a scapegoat, throws the blame upon the party in

power, and turns to its rival, only to move round again in the same old circle.

Finally a tendency to reaction in politics has probably always existed; but the press and the telegraph have made it far more rapid than it was formerly, while the fact that both parties keep within easy reach of public opinion makes a change possible at any time. And here a difference may be observed between the regularity of vibration in England and in this country. Our national elections coming at fixed intervals, which are well adjusted to the present rapidity of change of public sentiment, the oscillations are periodic and regular. But the general elections in England occur only when parliament is dissolved, either on the expiration of its term, or because the government loses its majority. The tenure of office of a party depends, therefore, very much upon the size of its initial majority in the house of commons, and hence the periods of oscillations are of varying length.

It is by no means certain that the democracies of the future will be divided into two parties. Whether they are or not will depend upon many conditions, and among others, upon the form of their political institutions. In Great Britain and America, at least, these conditions are such that the existence of two great parties is altogether probable, and if so, their frequent alternation in power may be expected to continue in times of ordinary tranquillity—a prospect that throws light upon the method of conducting public affairs in the two countries, and suggests the wisdom of some changes of practice. The spoils system, which has evils enough under any circumstances, becomes an organized absurdity if the parties are destined to change at every presidential election. It gives the public officials barely time to learn their duties before they are replaced by new men, and this is especially injurious in the more responsible positions which require great experience. The English habit, therefore, of retaining permanent undersecretaries, or heads of departments, who are thoroughly familiar with every detail





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of the administration and conduct it under the direction of their political chiefs, is far better suited to the rapid alternation of parties, than is our practice of rotation in office. The same thing may be said of the English custom of regarding acts of parliament once passed as enduring portions of the statute book, which are not to be lightly repealed by the other party when it comes to power, even though it may have opposed their enactment. No one will deny that this country has suffered severely from the sudden reversals of our tariff policy during the last seven years. But in order that a change may be made in our legislative habits, it is necessary not only that each party should feel an obligation to leave the work of the other untouched, but also that it should enact no laws which its rival cannot respect.

So much America might learn from England, but on the other hand, the likelihood of rapid political oscillations confirms the advantage of a constitution which removes questions of fundamental importance from the domain of ordinary legislation. Matters that ought to be beyond the reach of party politics had better be so hedged about that they can be dealt with only by something more authoritative than a party majority, or else time enough ought to be required for their consideration to permit a political oscillation to take place. In one form or the other this is effectually done by our constitutions in the case of a great many subjects. It has been said that a constitution limits the whim, not the will, of the people, and in view of the rapid alternations of party, the desire of a mere party majority cannot be said to express the lasting popular will. The tendency to political oscillations in a democracy teaches, therefore, the ever growing value of constitutional limitations.

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## BRIEFER COMMUNICATIONS.

### SOME ASPECTS OF THE THEORY OF RENT.

The exposition of the doctrine of rent has since the time of Ricardo recognized with greater or less distinctness two aspects to the theory. The Ricardian proposition is demonstrated, first, by reference to the varying fertility of different tracts of land subjected to the same amount of labor, and secondly, by reference to the decreasing productivity of successive "doses" applied to the same land. In many of the current text-books, however, no attempt is made to correlate these two processes.\*

Presumably because of its greater simplicity and because of its wider application, attention is generally directed to the increase of agricultural production, through the extension of cultivation and to the consequences which follow from it for the theory of rent. The prominence given to this aspect of the theory frequently leads students to believe that this is the only question at issue in the theory of rent and gives an exaggerated importance to the knotty question of the existence of no-rent land. Text writers rarely fall into the error of stating that this is all there is to the theory of rent and generally refer with greater or less distinctness to the effect of increasing intensity of cultivation upon the product of the soil. At the same time it is believed that the subject remains uncertain and vague in the mind of the student, because the relation between the extensive and intensive theory of rent is not carefully worked out.

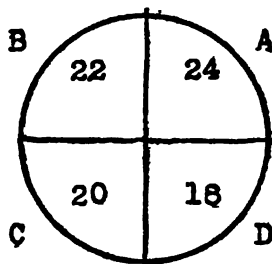
It is not in any hope of adding to the generally accepted doctrine of rent that the writer is tempted to seek a solution to the difficulty which has been named. It is simply with the hope of establishing a clearer understanding of the subject that a demonstration of the relation of the two parts of the doctrine of rent is here presented for the consideration of teachers and students of political economy. Instead, therefore, of treating the subject in general terms, it seems advisable to attach our consideration to the demonstration of the doctrine of rent which is probably most familiar in America, that of President Walker. For this purpose we may reproduce here his well-known diagram, designating the various tracts by the letters A, B, C, D.

His familiar demonstration assumes that equal quantities of labor are applied to these successive tracts of land of unequal fertility, so

\* Cf. J. H. Hollander, "The Concept of Marginal Rent," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. ix, pp. 175 et seq., especially p. 183.

that by the time cultivation has reached Tract D the cost of production is represented by 18 bushels—the return under the most unfavorable conditions—and the rent by 6 bushels in A, 4 in B, 2 in C and 0 in D. In the demonstration of Walker there is no attempt to formulate the amount of labor which is applied in the different tracts, it being sufficient for his purpose to designate it as being equal.

Let us assume that to produce 24 bushels in the Tract A 10 units of labor are required. When all the land in this tract has been taken up and production has proceeded to Tract B, 10 units of labor no longer produce 24 bushels but 22, or 2.2 for a unit instead of 2.4 as in A. Rent appears by 2 bushels per acre or .2 bushel per unit of labor.



Now the question might arise, and certainly does arise, in the mind of the student why production proceeds to the Tract B, why it is that additional labor is not expended upon the land already in cultivation. The reason lies obviously in the diminishing return which would accrue to additional labor in the Tract A. If additional labor in the Tract A will produce as a result more than 2.2 bushels per unit, it is obvious that production cannot proceed to the Tract B, unless the demand were such that it could not be satisfied by the increased product of A resulting from such additional labor. But if it becomes profitable to cultivate B at a return of 2.2 per unit, it is likewise probable that some additional labor will be applied to A, producing not 2.4 per unit as before, but at least 2.2. So that instead of equal quantities of labor being applied to A and B, A will be worked more intensively and consequently there will be an unequal amount of labor applied to the two tracts.

The number of additional units which would be applied to the Tract A with as great a proportionate return as the labor applied to B will, of course, depend upon circumstances. For the purpose of this demonstration we might assume that this is represented by 1 unit. As a consequence of B having been taken into cultivation we shall have the following situation in the Tract A:

10	units	producing	24	bushels
1	"	"	2.2	"
11	"	"	26.2	"

The cost per unit being according to the supposition 2.2 bushels, the aggregate cost of these 11 units will be 24.2 and the rent

26.2—24.2 or 2 bushels, the same as if 10 units had been applied to A and 10 to B, according to the supposition of Walker.

If we proceed a step further and assume that the Tract B is entirely occupied, cultivation will, according to Walker, proceed to Tract C, where 10 units of labor will produce 20 bushels or 2 per unit. Again, it must be assumed that coincident with this extension of agriculture to less fertile lands there will be an additional application of labor to the tracts already cultivated, providing such labor produce a return at least equal to 2 bushels per unit of labor. If again we assume that 1 unit may be added to Tracts A and B with this result we shall find when C is cultivated the following situation in A:

10 units producing 24 bushels			
1	"	"	2.2
1	"	"	2.0
<hr/>			28.2
12	"	"	"

The cost per unit being now 2.0

their aggregate cost will be 12 x 2, or 24 bushels  
and the rent 28.2 — 24, " 4.2

Here we have not only an increase of the aggregate production but an increase in rent in the Tract A over what would have taken place had 10 units been applied equally to the three tracts A, B and C. In the latter case the rent of A when C was cultivated would have been 4 bushels. It will be observed that the increase in the rent .2 bushel is exactly equal to the difference between the product of the 12th and 11th unit. In other words, as production proceeds to the less fertile soil additional labor applied to the more fertile land will produce a rent. Of course, this process must actually take place, as it is contrary to the probabilities to suppose that the cultivators of A will continue to apply only 10 units when by the application of 11 they can increase their rent.

If the Tract D be taken into cultivation, the fact of the contemporaneous action of the two underlying motives of the law of rent is still more clearly seen. Inasmuch as 10 units in D produce 18 bushels, the cost per unit becomes 1.8. It may be assumed that additional units can be added to the tracts previously under cultivation, and if they can be, we may rest assured that they will be.

Consequently we should have under these circumstances in the Tract A, when D is cultivated:

10 units producing 24 bushels			
1	"	"	2.2
1	"	"	2.0
1	"	"	1.8
<hr/>			30.0
13	"	"	"

The cost of these units is again 13 x 1.8, or 23.4 bushels  
and the rent consequently 30 — 23.4, " 6.6

1890

With the cultivation of D we have exhausted the possibility of extending cultivation of less fertile lands, according to the terms of our proposition. In order to illustrate the matter fully, let us now glance at the situation when D is cultivated upon the Tracts B and C. In the Tract B we find:

10 units producing 22 bushels	
1 " " 2.0 "	
1 " " 1.8 "	
12 " " 25.8 "	

So that the cost is  $1.8 \times 12$ , or 21.6 bushels  
and the rent equals 4.2 "

At the same time in the Tract C we find:

10 units producing 20 bushels	
1 " " 1.8 "	
11 " " 21.8 "	

The cost is  $1.8 \times 11$ , or 19.8 bushels  
the rent is 2.0 "

Comparing these tracts we see that the last unit applied to old lands, as well as the labor which is applied to new lands, yields no rent. We see, however, that those units which precede the last, as applied to the old land and which are yet in excess of the total units applied to the last new land cultivated, do yield a rent. It is clear, therefore, that such units will be applied, that the extensive and intensive progress of agriculture will go on side by side. The result can be best shown in a comparison of the following diagrams. The first represents the situation which would result from the assumption that the same quantity of labor is applied successively to the various tracts. The second shows the more probable result when increased quantities of labor are applied to the more fertile lands according to the assumption of the foregoing demonstration.

FIGURE I.

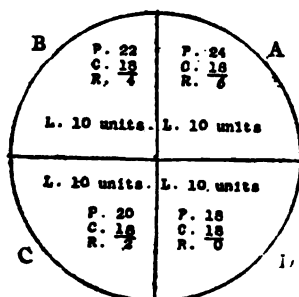
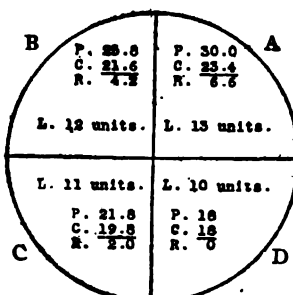


FIGURE II



(P stands for the product, C for the cost, R for the rent, and L for labor.)

In comparing these diagrams it will be noted that in the first a farm located at the centre and consisting of 1 acre of each quality of land would absorb 40 units of labor, would produce 84 bushels and would yield a rent of 12 bushels. In the second diagram the same farm would absorb 46 units of labor, would produce 95.6 bushels and would yield a rent of 12.8 bushels.

In the foregoing demonstration it has been assumed for the sake of simplicity that with each advance of agriculture to tracts of lesser fertility, an additional unit of labor has been applied to the tracts already in cultivation. As stated at the outset the amount of additional labor which might be applied would unquestionably be determined by circumstances and for the purposes of demonstration an exact formulation of this quantity is not essential. It might, however, be closer to the real facts to assume that the additional labor which is first applied would be absorbed by the land more readily and yield greater results than that which is applied subsequently. Taking the Tract A for instance, it is probable that additional units with an effectiveness of 2.2 bushels per acre would be more in number than those which had an effectiveness of 2 bushels per acre. To introduce this element into our demonstration we might fairly assume the following situation in A when D had been taken into cultivation:

10 units producing 2.4 per unit or 24	bushels	:
3 " " 2.2 " " "	6.6 "	
2 " " 2.0 " " "	4.0 "	
1 " " 1.8 " " "	1.8 "	
<hr/>	<hr/>	
16	36.4	
The cost of the units being 16 x 1.8, or 28.8 bushels		
the rent would be 36.4 — 28.8, " 7.6 "		

On the same supposition we would have in the Tract B 10 units at the rate of 2.2, 2 at the rate of 2 and 1 at the rate of 1.8. This change in the assumption does not, it will be observed, change the principle for which we have contended, but merely the numerical results. It simply means that the first steps toward intensity in agriculture will yield upon the most fertile tracts, a greater absolute, as well as relative rent, than subsequent steps.

The significance of the general principle thus set forth in relation to the existence of no-rent land can now be brought clearly before the student. It will be observed that when the Tract D is occupied, according to Walker's demonstration resort is had to some distant territory. To explain that a further rise of rent is possible by the foregoing demonstration it is obvious, however, as it has been brought more clearly before the student that successive

applications of labor bring in decreasing returns, that the assumption of other land is no longer necessary. It will readily be understood that additional units of labor on the land D will produce less than 1.8 bushels per unit. If an additional unit produce, for example, 1.6, and there be a demand for the products in excess of what can be produced in the whole territory, according to our supposition, then additional labor will be applied not only to D but also to the other tracts. The product under the most disadvantageous conditions will be 1.6 bushels whether the labor be applied to D or any of the other tracts. Therefore, according to the Ricardian theory all units producing more than 1.6, those on D, as well as in the other tracts, will yield a rent.

Practical experience in classroom work has demonstrated to the writer the effectiveness of the foregoing variant from current presentations of the subject. He hopes that it may prove of some value to his fellow instructors.

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#### RELATION OF CITIES AND TOWNS TO STREET RAILWAY COMPANIES.

The recent report of the special committee appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts to investigate the relations between cities and towns and street railway companies\* deserves the careful consideration of every one interested in the problems that have accompanied the growth of cities. The care with which the investigation was conducted and the great ability with which the conclusions of the committee have been formulated, give to the report an exceptional position in the series of investigations covering this class of questions during recent years. The report of the committee is comparatively short, covering but thirty-nine pages. In addition, however, the volume contains the draft of a street railway act which embodies the recommendations of the committee. Furthermore, in a series of appendices the following special topics are discussed:

First.—A presentation of the general subject of franchise-granting in this country and in Europe, by the secretary, Walter S. Allen, Esq.

Second.—Abstracts of the statutes of the various states relating to franchises and methods of taxation of street railways.

Third.—A detailed discussion of the relation between street railway companies and the public authorities in the larger cities of the United States.

Fourth.—A similar discussion of conditions in European cities.

Fifth.—A statement as to municipal ownership and operation of street railways in England, by Robert P. Porter, Esq.

Sixth.—An extract from the Rapid Transit and Tax Commissions' reports in relation to the readjustment of the corporation tax.

\* House Document No. 457.

And finally various tables presenting data on questions of taxation, length of street railway lines, etc.

The first effect of the report will be to dissipate many illusions and misconceptions as to the conditions of street railway traffic in this country and abroad. The report of the commission, together with the material presented in the appendices, is striking proof of the fact that the conditions of urban communication in this country and abroad are so different, that direct comparison is sure to be misleading. The comparatively restricted area of most European cities and the fact of concentration of great masses of population within this small area, tend to make the transit problem far simpler than in the United States. Furthermore, the conditions of social and business life in the former; the fact that there is no such sharp dividing line between business and resident sections as is the case in our American cities, serves to lessen the demand for rapid communication.

The report of Mr. Porter on "Municipal Ownership of Street Railways in England" emphasizes the fact, known to every one who has traveled abroad, that the process of improvement in transit facilities has been immeasurably slower than in the United States. The contrast, emphasized by the commission, is one between regulated and unregulated development. Few would be inclined to disagree with the conclusion that this fact of unregulated development, this lack of control over private corporations performing quasi-public service, has served to stimulate corporate initiative and enterprise. The great street railway corporations having received their franchises in perpetuity or for indefinite periods, without the necessity of making any considerable return to the city for the privileges so granted, have shown a willingness to experiment, to adopt new and improved methods of transportation, to replace the old type of cars by new models, which would have been considerably lessened had they been hampered by short-term franchises, or had they have been in fear of vexatious and burdensome control by the public authority. At all events, the astounding changes, one might almost say revolution, that has been effected in urban communication within recent years is largely traceable to the readiness to experiment and to sacrifice large sums of money in such experimentation. American corporations stand in marked contrast in this respect with the conservatism of European companies; with their reluctance to make any changes in established methods of transportation. It is said, for instance, that the Metropolitan Traction Company, of New York City, expended vast sums in experimenting with systems of underground electric transit. Having found a satisfactory system, no hesitancy was shown to substitute it for the existing method. After the change had been



effected one of the vice-presidents of the road remarked that within ten years this system would be replaced by some new form of electric or other motor power. With the desire to have the best of everything, ten years represents the usual period of usefulness of improved systems of transportation. In a word, our American communities have derived enormous benefits from this readiness of street railway corporations to experiment and to make improvements.

The policy of our city government, as well as the demand of our population, has been for the most improved methods of transportation, and we have given little thought, and, in fact, have had little interest in the question of the returns for franchise privileges. So long as the company will offer rapid communication the population is satisfied; and it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to arouse any strong public feeling on the question of the return for such privileges. The citizens of American communities are so intent upon their personal occupations that their sensitiveness does not extend beyond matters affecting their personal welfare and industrial efficiency. If the system of urban transportation meets these requirements the population is perfectly willing to overlook the question of the adequacy or inadequacy of the return which the company is making for these privileges. We have here an attitude of mind essentially different from that of European communities. The first question which arises in the granting of a franchise privilege in a foreign city is the return to the public treasury which the grantee of the franchise is willing to make. In American communities, on the contrary, this question is regarded as of secondary importance, whereas the primary question is the nature of the service, and not its cost. Provided urban transportation is rapid, we are willing to pay comparatively high rates, and even to suffer great inconvenience, such as that of overcrowding.

In the formulation of these conclusions, the commission is so much impressed with the advantages that have accrued to American communities from the very fact of unregulated development that they are extremely reluctant to increase the power of the public authority over private corporations. It is to be remembered, in reading this report, that the conclusions of the commission are intended to apply to Massachusetts conditions alone and the principles formulated should be interpreted in this light, otherwise there is danger of serious misconception. The explanation of the conservative attitude of the commission toward changes in the existing system, is to be found in the fact that of all the states of the Union, Massachusetts is the only one that has established anything like adequate financial control over its public service corporations. The system of state boards, such as the Gas and Electric Light Commissioners, the Board of Railroad Commissioners, etc., have been given such wide powers of control

over corporations that it is almost, if not quite, impossible for them to defraud the city through questionable financial operations. Where corporate financiering is under as strict control as in Massachusetts it is always possible to determine with considerable accuracy the value of a franchise and to adjust taxation accordingly. At first glance it would seem that the Massachusetts system of franchise grants for indefinite periods but with reserved power of control on the part of the local legislative bodies must be unsatisfactory. It would undoubtedly be so in any state except Massachusetts. Where, however, the profits from the exercise of the franchise can be determined without difficulty and where unreserved power of revocation stands as a constant menace to the corporation, it becomes comparatively easy to demand a fair return for the franchise privileges. The system of public control over the financial operations of the corporations prevents over-capitalization, with all its attendant evils.

As an illustration of the results of such public control the report classifies seventy-seven street railway companies in operation in the commonwealth of Massachusetts. The Boston Elevated or West End Street Railway is left out of consideration, because it occupies an exceptional position. Of the seventy-six remaining active companies "thirty-four paid no dividends in 1897, while forty-two paid dividends of from 1.25 to 10.5 per cent, averaging 4.29 per cent."\* Nor do these dividends represent a return on excessive capitalization. The capitalization per mile in stock and bonds of street railways in Massachusetts is \$46,600, which is less than the average (\$49,500) in the New England States. It is but twenty-six (26) per cent of the per mile capitalization of New York (\$177,800); but thirty-six (36) per cent of the per mile capitalization of Pennsylvania (\$128,200), and little less than forty-one (41) per cent of the average capitalization throughout the United States (\$94,100). "It is less than that in Great Britain (\$47,000), where both construction and appliances are far less costly and elaborate and over-capitalization has been guarded against with the utmost care."

It will be seen, therefore, from the foregoing description that the

\* The following table shows the percentage of net earnings of the street railway companies of Massachusetts, inclusive of the West End Company, for the five years since 1893:

	<i>Capital Investment.</i>	<i>Net Earnings.</i>	<i>Percentage of Earnings to Investment.</i>
1893 . . . . .	\$24,343,010	\$1,256,647	5.16
1894 . . . . .	26,341,333	1,400,912	5.32
1895 . . . . .	29,147,714	1,983,248	6.80
1896 . . . . .	33,878,948	2,273,552	6.71
1897 . . . . .	37,230,924	2,405,904	6.46
Average for five years . . . . .			6.16

extreme optimism of the commission in its comments on American street railway development must be interpreted with reference to the peculiar conditions in Massachusetts. The reading of the report conveys the impression that the inhabitants of Massachusetts are enjoying the benefits of improved transportation largely because of the fact that the railway companies have been given free hand to do as they choose. As a matter of fact there is no state in the Union which has subjected its public service corporations to such far-reaching control. With these facts in mind it is not surprising that the commission should decide against recommending short-term franchise grants or even fixed terms. The present system has given to the communities most of the advantages which regulation can give and has at the same time fostered in the street railway companies the spirit of initiative and the desire for improvement; two principles which it is extremely difficult to find combined in one system. It remains true nevertheless that for the great majority of the American cities the fixed term franchise, with possibility of renewal, furnishes the entering wedge for more careful control over private corporations. At the present time the all-important question is to establish some form of control in view of existing conditions. It seems more likely that a form of control of this kind will be established, however desirable the Massachusetts system may be. Ultimately we shall probably have a combination of the two, that is, state boards of control combined with fixed-term franchises.

Although the commission bases its conclusions upon Massachusetts experience, it has been led into the formulation of one or two general principles which are open to very serious question. On page 22 of the report we find the following:

"If municipalities or corporations choose, from over-eagerness or for other reasons, to enter into ill-advised or improvident agreements, which they afterwards repent, that is their affair; and the officials entering into such agreements are responsible to their constituencies, whether the body of citizens or the holders of the company's stock. It certainly is not the part of the commonwealth either to prescribe the terms of grants, or, after they are made, to examine those terms with a view to seeing that they contain nothing of which the parties to them may thereafter repent."

The principle here formulated ignores the peculiarities of American franchise grants. Were it possible for one legislature to undo the wrong done or injury inflicted by its predecessors, were the responsibility of officials to their constituents an effective remedy for such wrong, the view of the commission would be justified. As a matter of fact, however, the protection extended to private property rights, the constitutional restrictions prohibiting a state from impairing the obligation of contracts or to deprive any person of life, liberty or

property without due process of law, constitute such restrictions upon legislative discretion as to make the remedies suggested by the commission utterly inadequate. Furthermore, the statement that the commonwealth has no interest either in prescribing the terms or examining the nature of franchise grants is open to very serious question. In a case of this kind, where the action of one generation may barter away property rights which are the inalienable heritage of subsequent generations, the control of the state is to be justified upon the basis of sound political policy. The experience of European countries and the tendency toward central administrative control in our own, are sufficient evidence of the movement of popular opinion in this direction.

While the commission is opposed to fixed-term franchises, the provisions of the proposed street railway act show a strong desire on the part of the commission to assure to cities and towns an adequate return for the franchises granted. Thus Section 7 of the act provides that, in addition to the taxes now levied, every company whose annual gross receipts per mile of track operated are \$7000 or less shall pay 2 per centum of the annual gross receipts into the city treasury. In case of companies whose annual gross receipts per mile of track operated are more than \$7000, or less than \$14,000,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per centum; gross receipts from \$14,000 to \$21,000,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per centum; from \$21,000 to \$28,000,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per centum; \$28,000 or more, 3 per cent. This provision, in connection with the recommendation that the municipality should own the street railway lines, that is to say, the tracks, and lease the lines to private companies, would constitute most effective safeguards to public interests.

On the question of municipalization of street railways the commission takes a negative attitude. It clearly points out that this particular phase of municipal service is still in its experimental stage, and that where the experiment has been tried its success has not been sufficiently conclusive to warrant a more general adoption. As regards American cities, the conclusions of the commission will meet with little or no opposition.

Taken as a whole, this report is the most valuable contribution to the literature of the subject which has appeared within recent years. When interpreted in the light of the particular conditions upon which its conclusions rest, and for which the recommendations are intended, there is little with which one would be tempted to disagree. The greatest danger will come from the application of recommendations justified by Massachusetts conditions to the essentially different conditions of other American communities.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

L. S. ROWE.

## PERSONAL NOTES.

### AMERICA.

**Ohio State University.**—Dr. George Wells Knight has been appointed Professor of American History and Political Science, and elected Dean of the College of Arts, Philosophy and Science, in the Ohio State University. Professor Knight was born June 25, 1858, at Ann Arbor, Mich., and attended the public schools of that place. He entered the University of Michigan in 1874 and graduated with the degree of A. B. in 1878. The following year he spent in post-graduate study at the university and then became Principal of the High School at Lansing, Mich. In 1882 he returned to the University of Michigan for two years of post-graduate study, and received the degrees of A. M. in 1883 and Ph. D. in 1884. While studying at the university he was Instructor in History in the Ann Arbor High School, and remained there until 1885, when he was appointed Professor of History and English Literature at the Ohio State University. In 1887 his chair was changed to that of History and Political Science. During the years 1887-89 Dr. Knight was managing editor of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*. The year 1889-90 he spent in study at the Universities of Halle, Berlin and Freiburg.

Professor Knight is a member of the following associations: American Academy of Political and Social Science, American Economic Association, American Historical Association, and the Ohio Historical Society. He has written:

"*Land Grants for Education in Michigan.*" Published in the printed papers of the Michigan Pioneer Society for 1884, Vol. VII.

"*History of Land Grants for Education in the Northwest Territory.*" Pp. v, 175, New York, 1885.

"*The Centennial Celebration at Marietta.*" The Independent, April 12, 1888.

"*History of Educational Progress in Ohio.*" Published in "Historical Collections of Ohio." Vol. I. Columbus, 1889.

"*History of Higher Education in Ohio.*" With John R. Commons. (Contributions to American Educational History.) Washington, 1891.

"*Higher Education in the Northwest Territory.*" (Read before the American Historical Association.) Report of Commissioner of Education, 1887-88.

"*The Government of the People of the State of Ohio.*" Philadelphia, 1895.

"*The State and the Private College.*" Educational Review, June 1895.

"*General History of Civilization in Europe.*" By François Pierre Gillaume Guizot. Edited, with Critical and Supplementary Notes. New York, 1896.

"*Brief Historical Sketch of the City of Columbus, Ohio.*" Published in "Art Work of Columbus." Chicago, 1897.

Dr. Frederick C. Clark \* has been advanced to the position of Associate Professor of Economics and Sociology at the Ohio State University, and has been placed in charge of the new Department of Economics and Sociology which has been established there.

**University of Virginia.**—Dr. Richard Heath Dabney has been advanced to the position of Professor of Historical and Economical Science at the University of Virginia. Dr. Dabney was born on March 29, 1860, at Memphis, Tenn. His early education was obtained in private schools in Virginia and New York City. In 1878 he entered the University of Virginia, and he received the degree of A. M. from that institution in 1881. He then became a teacher in the New York Latin School for a year, and in 1882 went to Germany. During the three years 1882-85 he studied at the Universities of Munich, Berlin and Heidelberg, and in the last year received the degree of Ph. D. from the University of Heidelberg. In 1886 he delivered a course of lectures on the French Revolution at the Washington and Lee University. In the fall of the same year he became Professor of History at the University of Indiana. He remained there until 1889, when he was appointed Adjunct Professor of History at the University of Virginia.

Professor Dabney is a member of the following associations: American Historical Association, Southern Historical Society, and Virginia Historical Society. He has written:

"*The Causes of the French Revolution.*" Pp. x, 297. New York, 1888.

"*Outline Sketch of the Nineteenth Century in Europe.*" Progress, May, 1896.

"*University of Virginia.*" Frank Leslie's Magazine, August, 1897.

"*The Huguenot Element in Virginia's Population.*" (In press.)

"*John Randolph of Roanoke.*" (In press.)

**Washington University.**—Mr. Robert Franklin Hoxie has been appointed Instructor in Economics at Washington University, St. Louis. Mr. Hoxie was born at Edmeston, N. Y., on April 29, 1868. His early education was obtained at the Utica Free Academy, and in 1888 he entered Cornell University, remaining there until 1891, when he entered the University of Chicago, from which institution he received

\* See ANNALS, Vol. viii, p. 358, September, 1896.

the degree of Ph. B. in 1893. He continued in post-graduate study at the University of Chicago during the two years 1893-95, holding a Fellowship in Political Economy. He then studied in Germany for one year, and on his return became Acting Professor of Political Economy at Cornell College, Iowa. Mr. Hoxie has written:

"*Silver Debate of 1890.*" Journal of Political Economy, September, 1893.

"*Adequacy of the Customs Revenue.*" Ibid., December, 1894.

**Wesleyan University.**—Dr. Max Farrand has been advanced to the position of Associate Professor of History at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. Dr. Farrand was born at Newark, N. J., and obtained his early education in the private schools of that city. He entered Princeton College in 1888 and graduated with the degree of A. B. in 1892. The next two years he spent in post-graduate study at Princeton, holding a Fellowship in History during 1892-93 and a Fellowship in Social Science in 1893-94. During 1894-96 Dr. Farrand studied at the Universities of Leipzig and Heidelberg, Germany, and received in 1896 the degree of Ph. D. from Princeton University. The same year he was appointed Instructor in History at Wesleyan University. Dr. Farrand has written:

"*The Legislation of Congress for the Government of the Organized Territories of the United States, 1789-1895.*" Pp. 100. 1896.

"*Taxation of Tea, 1767-1773.*" American Historical Review, February, 1898.

"*The Delaware Bill of Rights of 1776.*" Ibid. July, 1898.

#### GERMANY.

**Rostock.**—Dr. Karl Diehl, Extraordinary Professor of Political Economy at the University of Halle, has accepted a call as full Professor at the University of Rostock. Since the date of the announcement in the ANNALS\* of Dr. Diehl's appointment at Halle, he has written the following articles in Conrad's Handöwrtterbuch der Staatswissenschaften: "*Landreform,*" "*Fichte,*" "*Lassalle,*" "*Proudhon,*" "*Rodbertus,*" "*Rousseau,*" and "*Morus.*"

He has also written "*Proudhon: Sein Leben und seine Socialphilosophie.*" Part III of a treatise on Proudhon, 1896.

"*Wirtschaft und Recht.*" Conrad's Jahrbücher, 1897.

"*Ueber das Verhältniss von Wert und Preis im ökonomischen System von Karl Marx.*" Festschriften zum 25 jährigen Jubiläum des Seminars, 1898.

\*See ANNALS, Vol. III, p. 813, May, 1893.

## BOOK DEPARTMENT.

### NOTES.

WHATEVER THE ATTITUDE taken regarding the practicability of solving the problem of unemployment by the creation of special institutions for the insurance of workingmen against this evil, the movement in this direction is one that no student of social reform can afford to overlook. Efforts to introduce this species of insurance date back but a few years, yet the literature upon the subject is already a considerable one. The movement, as is well known, has thus far been chiefly confined to Switzerland, where out-of-work insurance funds have been created by the municipalities of Berne and Saint-Gall, and important studies of the question looking to future action have been made by the towns of Basel, Zürich and Lausanne. A similar fund, organized under the auspices of the city, has also been in operation for a number of years at Cologne. Mr. Georges Cornil, a Belgian author, has undertaken to bring together in a compact pamphlet of 200 pages the essential portions of the original documents, such as the constitutions and reports of the various funds that have been created, and the important propositions made elsewhere, for the insurance of workingmen against unemployment.\* Though the author makes no pretence of presenting a critical examination of the subject, stating frankly that his work has been that of compilation and translation, he has, nevertheless, in his introductory and explanatory remarks, given a clear account of the history and general character of each scheme. He also considers several of the more important instances where labor organizations on the Continent have a regular system for the indemnification of their members when out of employment. The chief value of his work, however, is that here the student can find under one cover the essential data upon which to base a further study of the question, and that thus the necessity of collecting the various constitutions and reports of the funds, which would be impossible for most American students, is obviated. An excellent bibliography precedes the study.

IT IS WELL KNOWN that the differential rates by rail between the Middle West and the cities of the North Atlantic seaboard have been investigated during the past year by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The investigation was made at the instance of the New York

\* *L'assurance municipale contre le chômage involontaire.* By M. GEORGES CORNIL. Pp. 21, 191. Bruxelles: Imprimerie Universitaire, 1898.



Produce Exchange, whose chief complaint was that the differentials on grain, flour and provisions of two cents in favor of Philadelphia and three cents in favor of Baltimore as compared with New York, were unjust to the exporters of New York. The conclusions at which the commission arrived as the result of its investigation were: "That the differentials are legitimately based upon the competitive relations of the carriers, that it does not appear upon the present record that the carriers have exceeded the limit within which they are free to determine for themselves, and accordingly, that the differentials complained of do not result in unlawful preference or advantage to Philadelphia or Baltimore over the city of New York."

To the student of transportation the importance of the commission's report is not so much in the conclusions arrived at as in the manner in which the transportation problem involved was discussed. The forces which influence railway charges in the United States were analyzed with clearness and perspicacity by Commissioner Prouty in his lengthy and ably written report.\* Students of transportation will at once compare this report with the classic one made on the same subject in 1882 by the advisory commission consisting of Messrs. Thurman, Washburne and Cooley, and the comparison cannot fail to reveal the fact that important changes have taken place in the transportation problem during the past fifteen years. The forces affecting charges on rail traffic between the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic Seaboard have become more complex and it has become more difficult to measure the influences which they severally exert. This is tantamount to saying that with the progress of our industrial and commercial development, the railway transportation services are becoming increasingly interrelated and interdependent, are becoming more and more unified. Such expressions as "the transportation service" and "the transportation system" are becoming accurate as well as convenient terms. Those persons who have not given the railway transportation problem special study will be surprised at the number of considerations to which weight was given by the commission in passing judgment upon the fairness of the existing freight charges between the North Atlantic Seaboard and the Central West. Mr. Prouty's full and judicial statement of the report and opinion of the Interstate Commerce Commission in this case ought to be widely circulated and generally read.

\* *Differential Rates to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore*. Report and opinion of the Interstate Commerce Commission on the Complaint of the New York Produce Exchange vs. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company *et al.* Pp. 75. Decided April 30, 1898.

THE FOURTH ISSUE of "The Labour Annual,"\* edited and published by Joseph Edwards, presents several novel features. In addition to the usual directory of lectures on social and political reform and the reports of leading reform organizations it contains an article by Henry George on "The Great Battle of Labour," an account of "Labour Legislation in 1897" and a series of biographical sketches of leading reformers, illustrated with forty-five portraits. The value of the publication might be greatly increased if advertisements were rigidly excluded from the body of the work and if the material were presented in more orderly and logical form. In place of a table of contents an index introduces the work. This is followed by the directory of reform lecturers and writers. Both of these would come more properly at the end, where a more detailed index would be acceptable. Notwithstanding faults of arrangement, however, the "Labour Annual" contains a great deal of useful information not otherwise available and it is to be hoped the editor will be encouraged to continue its publication in coming years.

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IN HIS "Lectures on Local Government"† Mr. Lawrence Gomme has "designed to set forth, if possible, the lines upon which the principles of local government should be studied." His work is scholarly, showing careful research and it is of permanent value; but its usefulness is greatly impaired by the fact that only a minor portion of the contents of the book is in harmony with its title. In our opinion, an effort to prove that the modern English shire is the direct outgrowth of the old tribal division, that the borough is the descendant of the old Roman town and that the existing parish or township is the heir of the manor, does not constitute a treatise on the principles of local government. The argument is ably presented, although the author has not the space to develop it as he would wish, but its only justification in the present book is Mr. Gomme's belief that localities "formed by the common interests of a community dating centuries back" "are the foundation of local government." In this conclusion we do not agree, and the county of London based on no such ancient division seems to oppose the author's view. The real point at issue is whether mediæval history furnishes the most profitable basis for the study of existing problems.

\* *The 1898 Labour Annual*. Fourth Year of Issue of the Year-book for Social and Political Reformers. Pp. 224. Price, 1s. Wallasey, Liverpool: Joseph Edwards, 1898.

† *Lectures on the Principles of Local Government*. By (GEORGE) LAWRENCE GOMME. Pp. xv, 267. London: Arnold Constable & Co., 1897.

In his discussion of the present aims and duties of local government the author does not reach as definite conclusions as in the first part of his work. He does us a service by showing the complications existing before 1888, when twenty-seven thousand disconnected authorities tried to perform the duties and avoid the dangers of local rule. His suggestion that the "burden of taxation" only arises when "the amount paid is in excess of the benefit received" and is then only such excess, is excellent. He is not equally successful in his attempt to fix a limit to the powers suitable for a local government. Rejecting as insufficient Mills' definition of the service which such a government should perform, Mr. Gomme replaces it with the statement that the services properly administered by local governments are those of general utility. Unless the limits are better known in England than they are in the United States the serviceableness of such a definition is open to question.\*

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DR. CHARLES GROSS has rendered a service of inestimable value to students of English institutions by the publication of a "Bibliography of British Municipal History,"\* which deserves to take rank among the few first rate bibliographies which American scholarship has produced. In a brief introduction the author supplies some valuable information in regard to the more important sources for British municipal history and a critical estimate of the works on this subject, both general and local, which have thus far appeared. The bibliography proper is divided into two parts treating respectively of "General Authorities" and "Particular Towns." Part I is sub-divided into fourteen sections, under each of which the titles are arranged alphabetically according to authors, while in Part II the towns are arranged alphabetically, each being followed by its list of titles. This careful classification of the material, supplemented by an excellent index, makes it possible to turn at once to the books bearing upon any important phase of British municipal history.

Nor is the work a mere list of titles. In the case of most of the books referred to a few words of description or comment are appended. Asterisks are employed to designate works of particular value, while the few works not examined by the author personally, are indicated by means of daggers. Through these simple devices the value of the bibliography to the ordinary student is greatly

\* Contributed by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln.

† *A Bibliography of British Municipal History including Guilds and Parliamentary Representation.* By CHARLES GROSS, Ph.D. Pp. xxxiv, 461. Price, \$2.50. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897.

enhanced. Among the 3092 titles referred to, a very large number belong to the pamphlet and periodical literature which so easily escapes notice even in a well-catalogued library. The infinite labor and patience required for the preparation of such a work as this will only be understood by those who have undertaken similar tasks. It is a work which, once done with the conscientious care that Dr. Gross has bestowed upon it, becomes the starting point for a new epoch of historical writing. That this new impetus comes from an American scholar and an American university is particularly gratifying to our colonial pride.

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"THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK," for 1898\* contains numerous new features which will make it even more indispensable than before to every well-appointed library. The convenient statistical survey of the British Empire, which has for several years prefaced the volume, is brought down to date. In addition, tables are given exhibiting the colonial trade of the United Kingdom and the wheat acreage and number of cattle and sheep in the leading countries of the world since 1871. Of the ten colored maps and charts published this year, one illustrates the territorial situation along the Niger, four exhibit Great Britain's trade and official representation throughout the world, while the last five show the changes in imports and exports during the last twenty-five years for leading countries. The value of these latter would be enhanced to American readers if some explanation were given of the meaning attached to the terms "general" and "special" in connection with these diagrams. The detailed information in regard to each country given in the body of the book has been carefully revised and most of the statistical tables are brought down to date. But one error has been noted, on page 1105 Wright's "Industrial Revolution of the United States" is cited when "Industrial Evolution" is meant.

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THE *Verein Deutscher Eisenbahnverwaltungen* celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in July, 1896. The contribution of the Prussian Government to the celebration was a large two volume work setting forth the history of Berlin and its railroads.† The book, prepared in the Ministry of Public Works, was edited by Dr. von der Leyen.

\* *The Statesman's Year-Book: Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for 1898*. Edited by J. SCOTT KELTIE and I. P. A. RENWICK. (Thirty-fifth year). Pp. xxxi, 1166. Price, \$3.00. London and New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898.

† *Berlin und seine Eisenbahnen, 1846-1896*. Published at the instance of the Prussian Minister of Public Works. 2 vols., Pp. xv, 375; viii, 491. Berlin, Julius Springer, 1896.

The literary work was performed by four authors, all well-known railway officials. The work is divided into five parts. Volume I contains an introduction, Part I which treats of the historical development of the city of Berlin and describes the territorial growth of the city from the time of the electors to the present, and Part II which depicts the evolution of Berlin's railroads. The account contains the history of all railroads connecting Berlin with other cities, as well as the history of street railways of that city. Berlin is such a large railway centre that the majority of the Prussian railroads are included in the narrative, and in consequence this and the succeeding sections of the work practically contain a history of Prussian railroads and railway transportation. The three divisions contained in the second volume discuss respectively the passenger traffic, freight traffic and train service of Berlin's steam railroads and intra-mural railways. The book is in no sense critical. That was not to be expected of a work proceeding from official sources and issued as a jubilee volume. The authorship of the work and the scientific reputation of the editor vouchsafe the accuracy of the data presented and render the book one that may profitably be consulted by students of the history of Prussian railroads and the transportation system of Berlin.

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THE SIXTH AND last volume of Traill's "Social England"\* brings the reader down to the general election of 1885, and thus constitutes a suitable preface to contemporary history. To this volume some thirty-one authors have contributed and in consequence the absence of perspective and of a due sense of proportion in the treatment of different sides of social life that has characterized all the volumes of the series is somewhat accentuated. The volume is divided into four chapters treating of: (1) Peace, Retrenchment and Reform, 1815-1822. (2) Progress and Reaction, 1832-1846. (3) The Rule of the Middle Class, 1846-1865. (4) The Succession of the Democracy, 1865-1885. Each chapter is followed by an excellent bibliography and the whole work concludes with an index which leaves nothing to be desired. Like the earlier volumes this history of social England in the nineteenth century will prove serviceable as a book of reference rather than as a continuous narrative. The high authority

\* *Social England. A Record of the Progress of the People in Religion, Laws, Learning, Arts, Industry, Commerce, Science, Literature and Manners from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* Edited by H. D. TRAILL, D. C. L. Vol. VI. *From the Battle of Waterloo to 1885.* Pp. viii, 700. Price, \$3.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897.

of most of the contributors makes their special contributions of great value and it is to these the reader will turn after having glanced through the volume as a whole.

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REVIEWS.

*The Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the United States during the First Century of its History.* By HERMAN V. AMES, Ph. D. Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1896, Vol. II. Pp. 442. Washington, D. C. : Government Printing Office, 1897.

This is the essay which won the prize awarded by the American Historical Association "for the best monograph, based on original investigation in history submitted to the council in the course of the year 1896." It is a most laborious and painstaking piece of work and will be very valuable for reference. The book is provided with an analytical table of contents, a bibliography, an index and a most noteworthy appendix: "A Calendar of all Amendments Proposed to the Constitution of the United States from the Date of Its Ratification to March 4, 1889." This list of nearly 1750 distinct propositions is carefully annotated, so that at a glance one may learn the legislative history of each proposition. A mere enumeration of these amendments fills over one hundred octavo pages, and when we consider that only fifteen of all this great number received sufficient popular favor to become part of the constitution we realize how difficult successful amendment is and what a long record of unsuccessful effort is here told. It might seem that the labor of the learned author was wasted in describing these failures, but this is hardly a fair way to estimate the value of the book. It throws valuable side lights on the political movements in our country's history and is most clear in pointing out how wise the founders were in embodying only general principles into the constitution, how much has been accomplished by interpretation and convention and how the parts of the constitution which admit of no such development are the ones which suffer most by the rigidity of our system of amendment. The book is not one for continuous reading, so much as for the study of special phases of constitutional history. In this respect the record of certain amendments which failed, is as instructive as that of those which succeeded. Considerable knowledge of history is presumed to be possessed by the reader, and the narrative can be understood only by one who has a general acquaintance with the political conditions of the times. The construction

of sentences is sometimes awkward. The split infinitive is used occasionally.

The work is divided into six chapters, of which the most interesting to the general reader are the first and the last. We begin with a general survey of the attempts to secure amendments, under which head we find a brief discussion of the proceedings of the Federal Convention with reference to amendments and a division of the history of amendments into four periods. The first of these ends in 1803 and is noteworthy for the passage of the so-called Bill of Rights and of the eleventh and twelfth amendments correcting defects which appeared in the working of the constitution. In the second period, ending with 1860, nearly 400 amendments were introduced but none were adopted. The third period, that of the Civil War and Reconstruction, saw the passage of the last three amendments, while the last period has been as productive of plans and as fruitless in results as was the ante-bellum one.

The second chapter discusses the proposed amendments affecting the form of the legislative department of the government. This is followed by a discussion of the amendments affecting the executive department, which have been many, and those affecting the judiciary, which have been few. Over one-third of the whole work is next devoted to the proposed amendments affecting the powers of government, and the book closes with a valuable summary of the procedure as to constitutional amendments. The questions here discussed are of a lively interest and we find full statement of such points as to the necessity for the signature to a constitutional amendment of the president or governor of a ratifying state, as to the reconsideration of its action by such state, and as to what constitutes the requisite two-thirds of congress and three-fourths of the states.

In general the book shows extreme accuracy and but few incorrect statements have been noted. At least two cases, one in Maryland and one in New York, can be added to the one adduced on page 42, of representatives in congress residing outside of the districts from which they are elected. The generalization on page 65, that the term of United States senators is the longest of any elective officers in the country save judges, is too sweeping. In Maryland all clerks of courts are elected for six years. The constantly changing constitutions of our states have sometimes caused slight inaccuracies in the references to them. On page 194, the statement seems grotesque that the South preferred to secede rather than to accept the Crittenden compromise amendments if adopted by any vote that lacked unanimity, when we consider that these amendments were not introduced until January, 1861. By that time, surely the time

for any such compromise was hopelessly passed. We are occasionally surprised to find how early certain proposed political reforms were introduced: for example, in 1848 Mr. Lawrence, of New York, offered an amendment embodying a system of proportional voting.

It is a little difficult to obtain generalizations on a subject such as the monograph treats, but these sentences from pages 279 and 301 seem to sum up the whole matter of constitutional amendments in a few words:

"The wisdom of the members of the Convention of 1787 in defining the powers of the government in broad and general terms has become more and more evident as time has elapsed, for, owing to this fact, it has been possible to readily adapt the constitution to the changed conditions and circumstances of advancing years. The doctrine of implied powers has been accepted to such an extent that in the most important cases where amendments have been sought, the same results have been secured without their adoption.

"To a much smaller degree has it been possible to secure any change by these unwritten amendments of the provisions of the constitution prescribing the form of government, for here the constitution admits of less freedom of interpretation, being very much more explicit in its terms."

"Why," it may be asked, "have so few of the more than eighteen hundred propositions looking to the amendment of our fundamental law been successful? In part because some were suggested as cures for temporary evils, others were trivial or impracticable, still others found a place in that unwritten constitution which has grown up side by side with the written document, and whose provisions are often as effective as those contained in the organic law; but the real reason for the failure of those other amendments which have been called for repeatedly by the general public has been due to the insurmountable constitutional obstacles in their way."

B. C. STEINER.

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*France.* By JOHN EDWARD COURTENAY BODLEY. Two volumes. Pp. xviii, 850. Price, \$4.00. London and New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898.

The author of this work has spent seven years in France preparing himself for his task. He has mixed familiarly with many classes of French people, from the learned members of the Academy to artisans in provincial communes, and his book shows the thoroughness of his study. While we may not always agree with his conclusions, while we may think that the opinions he holds go sometimes to an



extreme, no one can fail to recognize that the book is both scholarly and profound. Its underlying principle, the dominant thought which is constantly brought forward, and around which all the author's views are centred, is the doctrine that the parliamentary system is irreconcilably contrary to the centralized administration that Napoleon fastened upon revolutionary France. Of the French Revolution Mr. Bodley says (Vol. I, p. 100): "Many of the men of 1789 began their work inspired with noble motives, but they neglected the precaution which the most elementary architects even among primitive peoples observe, not to destroy the foundations of a fabric which it is intended to re-model if it has to be inhabited during the reconstruction." The result was, of course, anarchy, from which, he tells us, France was delivered only by military conquest; and that conquest gave rise to a soldier who had a genius for government, and the capacity to understand Frenchmen. The secret of Napoleon's ability to reconstruct France, he adds, lay in the fact that he recognized the systematic disposition which the French like to see and feel in their government. It may be remarked by the way that the French showed little tendency of that kind under the old régime; but whether this characteristic antedates the Revolution or not, it is certain that the Napoleonic system has in its essential features survived every revolution unchanged, and appears to be far more deeply rooted in France than any form of government.

After discussing the historical aspects of the Revolution, and before taking up the existing political institutions, Mr. Bodley discusses the inexhaustible themes of liberty, equality and fraternity. The treatment of the last two of these is especially interesting; particularly the description of the influence of French schoolboy life on equality, and the simultaneous growth in France of the sentiment of patriotism and of the merciless cruelty of Frenchmen to one another in moments of great political excitement.

In the course of his description of the present French institutions the author dwells in a very forcible way upon some features of the government which deserve, unfortunately, all the criticism he applies to them. One of these is the position and activity of the Committee on the Budget, which weakens the authority of the ministry and makes sound financiering almost an impossibility. Another is the baneful influence exerted over the prefect and other administrative officers by the deputies and the electoral committees who stand behind them. Mr. Bodley, like almost all students of the subject, considers this evil the inevitable result of combining a centralized bureaucracy with a parliamentary system; and he points

out that although the deputies possess enormous political power and are treated with every show of respect by the executive and judicial officers in the provinces, they are, nevertheless, not held in high esteem by the country at large. This may seem a paradox, but it is not really so, for both results are due to one cause, the defective working of the parliamentary system. The individual deputies have acquired the control of a great deal of patronage which they ought not to possess, while, at the same time, the chamber has failed in its true mission as a body which can put into office and maintain there a really efficient cabinet. Both these things prevent many of the best men in France from going into public life, while, at the same time, they enable a small class of politicians to build up an influence which brings power without esteem.

The author has a chapter on corruption under the Republic, and in this he draws the picture quite as black as it is. There certainly must have been fire enough under the smoke of the Panama scandal; but to interpret the remark of Rouvier, the former minister of finance, to mean that a minister may properly use his official position to increase his private fortune up to a certain point is hardly a fair construction of his words. Rouvier said: "Je pourrais m'en tenir là, sortir d'ici la tête haute, les mains nettes, aller devant toutes les juridictions, ayant, comme je l'ai dit déjà, la conscience d'avoir traversé les plus grandes affaires de ce pays sans que le chiffre de ma fortune s'en soit accru anormalement." It is hardly to be supposed that a man about to be tried for corruption would have deliberately admitted that he had been guilty of making money out of his office to some extent; and that this is not his meaning is made clear by the end of his speech, where he declared that he had neither directly nor indirectly received anything from any financial company.

To return to the question of parliamentary government, Mr. Bodley insists, what no one who has watched the French chamber would venture to deny, that the parliamentary form of government cannot work without the party system—that is, the division of the chamber into two parties, one of which supports the ministry, while the other belongs to the opposition. This statement recurs again and again through the second volume, and in fact the last part of the book is devoted to an interesting study of the existing political groups. The author points out that the high standard of the House of Commons is maintained by the party system; which he calls the strongest purifying agent in parliamentary government under extended suffrage. Considering that parties are a natural

\* *Journal Officiel*, séance du Dec. 21, 1892.

product which cannot be abolished at will, and considering that they exist and appear likely to continue to exist in Anglo-Saxon countries, it is consoling, after all we have heard of the evils of party, to hear something of the benefits they confer; for it is injurious, both to one's temper and one's morals, to believe that the inevitable conditions under which we live are hopelessly bad. Granting that the parliamentary form of government must fail without a party system, one naturally asks whether there is any chance that the latter may develop in France. On this point, Mr. Bodley has a very decided opinion; he thinks that it cannot; that it is contrary to the instincts and traditions of the French people, and hence that parliamentary government in France can never be a success. In fact, he would appear to be of opinion that the parliamentary system works as well as it can under French conditions; for he points out that as the chamber cannot control the ministry, a strong cabinet would be likely to dispense with the legislature altogether, and thus ministerial instability is the only possible form of ministerial responsibility. He is confident that a centralized administration is the only form of government which conforms to the wants and ideas of the French people, and hence that it cannot be abolished, and that at any time a strong man may arise who will make himself master of France and employ this tool as it was intended to be used. In fact, he considers such a government the best suited to the French people. In taking a view that would be termed in France reactionary, Mr. Bodley is not in the least influenced by attachment to any reactionary group. On the contrary, he has little respect for the Reactionaries or for most of their leaders. In one place he remarks (Vol. II, p. 354): "The bringing to scorn of monarchical sentiment in the minds of the French people has been chiefly due to the folly and perversity of the Royalist party; but the destruction of that particular form of it known as Orleanism was the almost unaided work of the Comte de Paria."

Without challenging the author's exposition of the facts, or his fundamental opinions, we may take a little more hopeful view of the future. In order that parliamentary government may work well with an extended suffrage, it is essential not only that the popular chamber, but also that the nation at large, should be divided into two parties. Now, in France this is not so. As Mr. Bodley truly says (Vol. II, p. 277): "In France the adventitious majority which puts a ministry out is no more representative of the nation's opinions or even of its temporary sentiment than is the minority which supports it." This is the reason that at general elections in France each district is fought for between the candidates with scant

regard to their relation to the cabinet in office. A striking illustration is given (Vol. II, p. 144) by the author: "I have before me," he says, "copies of several ardent local journals published during the electoral period of 1893 in places where controversy was most violent, and in not one of them, in endless columns of polemic and oratory, is the name of the then Prime Minister once mentioned either to praise or to blame him; nor that of the Minister he displaced, nor of any Minister or ex-Minister who had ever served the Republic except those connected with the district in which the newspaper circulated." So long as this is true, it is clearly absurd to expect any permanent loyalty on the part of the majority of the chamber to any particular cabinet. In England, at general elections, and in fact at all times, the parliamentary leaders, both those who are in the ministry and those in opposition, are continually making speeches over the country; and the general election turns on the question which of these two sets of leaders the country will support. Whereas, in France, it has not been the custom for any public man to speak during the campaign except in his own electoral district. Here, however, there comes a ray of hope, because for some months before the recent elections men prominent in public life, have undertaken to make stump speeches for the benefit of the nation at large. There has also been founded a national Conservative Republican Club similar to the English political clubs.

Some hope may be drawn from the very despondency of Frenchmen. Mr. Bodley tells us that pessimism is now more widespread than ever before, because (Vol. I, p. 39), "no one has a substitute to propose for the existing régime; while under every other its opponents solaced themselves with the thought that one day it could be dispensed with." Now, it is this very feeling which has hitherto made reform impossible in France. The men who did not like the existing government, instead of trying to make it better, have always been anxious to overturn it altogether, and to substitute another in its place. France has now no remedy of that sort to turn to, and hence there is a serious opportunity to improve without destroying the present institutions. In this way, it is conceivable that extreme centralization may be gradually modified and brought more into harmony with a parliamentary system. I do not say that this is probable, but simply that it is possible, for the mere absence of a utopia to be attained by revolution introduces into the problem a new element which may make possible that which could not have happened in the past.

A. L. LOWELL.

*Boston.*

*Children Under the Poor Law.* Their Education, Training and After Care; together with a Criticism of the Report of the Departmental Committee on Metropolitan Poor Law Schools. By W. CHANCE, M. A. Pp. 443. Price, 7s. 6d. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1897.

We have in this volume an admirable, detailed account of the various methods of dealing with pauper children in England. A partisan of no particular system, Mr. Chance believes that the advocates of boarding-out, who are at present occupying the floor in England, have done scant justice to the work and results of many of the poor law schools and homes. One of the purposes of the book is to give them their just measure of recognition. Mr. Chance is himself no great believer in boarding-out, at least under present social conditions in England, and it is probable that his treatment of it is not quite as just as that which he has accorded to other methods of child-saving. His very vivid portrayal of the many safeguards which must be adopted in order to prevent the transformation of boarding-out from the very best to the very worst system of dealing with juvenile dependents is certainly timely. The most valuable part of his work is the information he has gathered concerning the best methods of educating and training children in institutions—information which is accompanied by suggestive hints as to possible improvements. This material is taken largely from the Reports of the Inspectors of Poor Law Schools, which have heretofore been more or less neglected. The result is a well arranged record of administrative experience in typical poor-law institutions which must prove useful to those interested in any of the various indoor methods of dealing with children.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Chance, in his desire to do justice to poor law schools and homes, has nowhere given unqualified assent to the principle generally held by disinterested students and workers in pauperism that at best the juvenile institution or home is a necessary evil which may involve much unnecessary evil if children are not released from it at the earliest possible moment consistent with their welfare, and if during their stay in it their environment does not resemble as nearly as possible the environment of a child normally developing in family and community. Indeed, we may safely go further and say that Mr. Chance has made no clear-cut classification of the influences acting upon a child, in normal life. We find nowhere any statement, sociological or psychological, of just what he conceives the life of a child in its family relations to be and just what the loss of such life or the loss of certain parts of it amounts to. It is true that he touches

often upon these questions, but it is in a very disjointed manner. If Mr. Chance had taken the commonly accepted and entirely logical principle which we have mentioned, as his central thought in the study of these institutions, we believe he would have done them a greater service than he has. For he would have brought out more clearly the certainly remarkable success which some institutions have attained, by setting in operation within their walls so much that is good in the normal environment of a child. Occasionally we seem to catch glimpses of a spirit as fine as that found at Rugby or Eton. It is doubtful if there has been equal success in American institutions, except in such model establishments as the Lyman and Industrial Schools in Massachusetts. It must be regretted that the author by reason of misplaced emphasis, obscures the value of the material he has gathered. He may fairly be accused of laying too much stress on mere industrial training.

Mr. Chance has added nothing definite to the discussion between the advocates of cottage homes and boarding-out—perhaps the most interesting phase of the question in England to-day. That controversy has reached a stage where psychological analysis of the minutest kind must be made of child life in its family relations. Thus there is a problem in itself in the very simple question as to just what the purchasing of supplies for cottage homes by central authorities takes from its family life. How the small self-denials for others, which are daily practiced in good family life, can be given chance for development in cottage homes, is also a matter of considerable importance. On these and many similar topics we find little that is new in the book before us. The portion treating of cottage homes will be chiefly valuable to those who desire to obtain an adequate acquaintance with the system itself.

Another defect in the book must be pointed out in its loose statistical methods. Many of the figures and calculations given are quoted from reports, but to reproduce them stamps them with the author's approval. It is to be regretted that he has not been as careful as he should be in pointing out their limitations. Thus he gives currency, not infrequently, to very superficial comparisons like the following: One inspector makes a comparison of the number of unmarried pregnant women in certain workhouses, who were educated in workhouse schools and of those who were not, without the slightest reference to the proportion of these two classes in the total female population between certain ages. Without such comparison the figures are not only worthless but misleading. Indeed, Mr. Chance makes similar errors on his own account. Thus he draws up a rough comparison between the decline of pauperism in England

and in Scotland—and we are led to infer that the treatment of child paupers is the only consideration involved. There is no intimation that differences of administration with reference to adult paupers ought to be at least considered not to mention a number of the other factors in the problem.

But it is perhaps well to leave the weaknesses of Mr. Chance's statistical work to his English critics who are themselves more or less involved in the controversy. To Americans much of that controversy is of little interest. While there is general unanimity among us that boarding-out and placing-out are the ideal systems the conditions incident to their successful operation are fully recognized. At the same time the fact that the institution is a necessity, for some years to come at least, is also recognized. We have already sufficiently indicated the value of the book to both those who are interested in the boarding- and placing-out systems and those who are interested in the problem of making institutional life resemble as nearly as possible the normal life of a child. It is in these aspects that the book will be most useful to American workers and students and can be cordially commended to them.

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New York City.

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*The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K. G., as Social Reformer.* By EDWIN HODDER. Pp. 195. Price, \$1.00. New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1898.

Twelve years after the appearance of his three-volume biography of the Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. Hodder has prepared a sketch of the most important aspect of his hero's career, namely, that of social reformer. The author tells his story in a vivid and impressive manner, with no attempt to explain the obscure motives or trace the remote effects of Shaftesbury's work. But in the brief allusions to his inner and domestic life, we see clearly the chief springs of his conduct; and in the simple account of "things done," we can but marvel at the variety, magnitude and far-reaching results of this one man's life-work.

Shaftesbury is a striking illustration of Mr. Kidd's contention that altruism is the only sufficient motive which has caused the "privileged classes" of the nineteenth century to yield to the "masses" their demands, and, indeed, that members of the privileged classes have themselves been most active in securing for the masses a share in their own privileges. Of high rank and illustrious descent, Shaftesbury devoted the sixty years of his life in

parliament to combats with his own order in behalf of the weak and defenceless. He obeyed his ancestral motto, "Love, Serve," and made altruism the dominant and abiding motive of his conduct. And his altruism was reinforced by, or founded upon, intense religious conviction. Like the Puritans of old, he believed in God as a personal, ever-present friend, and it is stated that his "every plan, every speech, every labour was laid upon the altar as an 'offering unto the Lord.'" Hence his title, "The Puritan Earl," and hence the secret of his intense earnestness and sustained enthusiasm. It was this, too, which made his public life eminent for its unyielding integrity. He could never be swerved aside from the pursuit of his purpose by any ministerial bait or consideration. In early life he repeatedly sacrificed his personal ambition for high office in the interests of his work, and in 1866, when he was offered the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster and a seat in the cabinet, he replied that "there were still remaining fourteen hundred thousand women, children and young persons to be brought under the protection of the Factory Acts, and until that was done he could not allow himself to be withdrawn from the work of his life."

In his political creed, he was a typical Conservative. He believed that the welfare of his country was based upon the crown, the hereditary peerage and the established church; he vigorously opposed the reform bills of 1832 and 1867, and the Ballot Act of 1872, and "always used the word 'Democracy' as a term of reproach." He detested, also, the policy of *laissez faire*, and did more than any other man in England to impose legislative restrictions on employment in factories and in mines.

In 1833, seven years after his entrance into Parliament, he became the champion of the famous Ten Hours Bill in behalf of factory operatives, and won a memorable victory after fourteen years of incessant struggle against the opposition of such men as Sir Robert Peel, Richard Cobden, John Bright and Mr. Gladstone. His triumph was increased, too, by a public recantation of their sentiments on the part of most of his opponents. This was only his initial victory, however, and he continued the struggle for thirty-four years, during which time he succeeded in placing restrictions on the employment of women and children in calico print works, mines and collieries, brickfields, workshops and as chimney-sweepers; and, finally, in 1867, he put an end to the wretched "gang" system of agricultural labor, thus giving, as he said, the crowning stroke to his lifelong efforts to bring all the occupations of the young and defenceless under the protection of the law.

His activity in behalf of the laboring classes was not confined to



the houses of parliament. As chairman of England's first Board of Health from 1848 to 1854, he showed conclusively that the cholera epidemic of those years was largely due to the unsanitary condition of lodging-houses and laborers' dwellings; and in the face of strenuous opposition from water companies, commissioners of sewers, guardians of the poor and the College of Physicians, he effected some important sanitary reforms. He first described, in 1851, the evils of lodging-houses, showed how a "model lodging-house" could be erected and maintained at a profit of 6½ per cent, and pushed through the first bill for the inspection and registration of lodging-houses; and his efforts were largely instrumental in effecting the movement for model artisans' dwellings, which culminated in the "Housing of the Working Classes Act" of 1885.

It was Shaftesbury, too, who took up, in 1828, the question of the existing and proper treatment of the insane, and was made chairman of the Board of Commissioners on Lunacy, a position which he occupied for more than half a century, and in which he succeeded in passing the two bills of 1845, "the Magna Charta of the Insane." Under these bills, Lord Shaftesbury and his board changed the state of the insane from a veritable *inferno* to its present merciful condition.

His private efforts in behalf of children are scarcely less memorable than the legislation he secured for them. For more than forty years he was president of "The Ragged School Union," and was a prime mover in developing its manifold activities, such as its refuges, training ships, shoe black brigades, industrial classes, farm school and colonial emigration. Space will not admit of even an enumeration of the many other social and church reforms which substantiate his biographer's claim that he was "*the Social Reformer of the Victorian era.*" It should not be neglected to observe, however, that one secret of his remarkable success as a reformer was his thorough personal study of the evils he sought to remove. His speeches and reports are mines of information regarding almost incredible evils in English society in the second and third quarters of this century; and Mr. Hodder deserves our thanks for weaving an account of many of these evils into his biography, for they help us to measure the humanitarian progress which has accompanied the material development of the last half century, as well as encourage us to seek earnestly for unsuspected evils in our own day and to work hopefully for their reform.

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*American Ideals, and Other Essays, Social and Political* By THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Pp. vi, 354. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897.

This volume brings together a series of fifteen essays which have appeared in magazine form from time to time during the past twelve years. They fall readily into four groups. The first four—"American Ideals"; "True Americanism"; "The Manly Virtues and Practical Politics," and "The College Graduate and Public Life"—are concerned with the elements of patriotism and with the qualities that fit a man for serviceableness in a democracy like our own. The essays of the second group—"Phases of State Legislation"; "Administering the New York Police Force"; "Machine Politics in New York City"; and "Six Years of Civil Service Reform"—are keen analyses of present American political institutions by a man who from the closest contact knows whereof he speaks. In the "Vice-Presidency and the Campaign of 1896"; "How Not to Help Our Poorer Brother"; "The Monroe Doctrine"; and "Washington's Forgotten Maxim" certain questions of national policy receive vigorous treatment. The last three of the essays are elaborate and spirited reviews of three of the most striking of recent contributions in the field of social science.

In Mr. Roosevelt's view Americanism is not a narrow, petty thing, a cloak for national defects. It is raised above localism or sectionalism—"the patriotism of the village or of the belfry"—and stands in broad contrast with that lack of patriotism which masquerades as cosmopolitanism. "It is a matter of spirit, conviction and purpose, not of creed or of birthplace." In false ideals he finds not a few obstacles to the maintenance of such a broad Americanism. Not so much to be dreaded are open assaults upon American institutions; the dangers lie rather in the influence of men who, while keeping within the pale of the law and maintaining a certain respectability, still undermine public and private morality by their example. Very timely is the warning against our American love of smartness, our worship of success however won, the pernicious influence of demagogues and the coarsening effect of a materialism that seeks no higher national good than money and money's worth.

"The Manly Virtues and Practical Politics," and also "The College Graduate and Public Life" lay stress upon the necessity of "supplementing the gospel of morality by the gospel of efficiency," a doctrine which Mr. Roosevelt's own career has clearly exemplified. College education too often develops an aptitude for cynical criticism rather than for practical serviceableness. Yet the college graduate

"is bound to rank action far above criticism, and to understand that the man deserving of credit is the man who actually does the things, even though imperfectly, and not the man who confines himself to telling about how they ought to be done." How this doctrine of efficiency may be carried out is the theme of the four essays which follow. Here Mr. Roosevelt speaks from actual experience as a member of the New York Assembly, as Civil Service Commissioner and as Police Commissioner of the City of New York. Though now a dozen years old, "Some Phases of State Legislation" offers to the reader perhaps the best presentation of our American state legislatures. In his "American Commonwealth" Mr. Bryce puts this essay under heavy tribute. The humors and discouragements of legislative work are vividly portrayed. Unsatisfactory, disgraceful even as is much of our legislative material, the responsibility is to be traced back to the constituents themselves and to the men of influence whose self-interest or laziness keeps them from bringing in a new order. It is to be regretted that, instead of revising this essay and illustrating it still further from the striking experiences of the last twelve years, Mr. Roosevelt has contented himself with saying, by way of a foot note: "At present, I should say that there was rather less personal corruption in the legislature; but also less independence and greater subservience to the machine, which is even less responsive to honest and enlightened public opinion."

Less successful is the discussion of questions of national policy. The essays never conceal their writer's personality. Everywhere there is robustness, virility; but the "manly virtues" are made synonymous with "the fighting qualities," and the favorite metaphors are drawn from the football field or the prize ring. Yet the fighter, devoting his energies to the administering of "punishment," is not always in a mood to pass candidly upon the ethics of the question at issue. Despite obvious effort, in these essays Mr. Roosevelt not infrequently shows himself by temperament hardly less a partisan and a "punisher" than a patriot. He deems it undesirable to define the Monroe Doctrine "so rigidly as to prevent our taking into account the varying degrees of national interest in varying cases." To his own mind it is obvious that its observance should be enforced in the two Americas, "and in the islands on either side of them," while "every true patriot, every man of statesman-like habit should look forward to the day when not a single European power will hold a foot of American soil." A hint as to the process by which this consummation is to be brought about may be found

in the assertion: "The diplomat is the servant, not the master, of the soldier."

To a fighter holding views like these it is not strange that argument by epithet should appeal. The man who ventures to question whether intervention in the Venezuelan controversy was involved in anything which can properly be called the Monroe Doctrine, or whether the bully's place among the nations is the highest goal for the United States, is straightway annihilated by being dubbed "anti-American," his queries and arguments are disposed of by the assertion that those who on these points differ with the essayist are "too short-sighted or too unimaginative to realize the hurt to the nation that would be caused by the adoption of their views;" or "they have not thought much of the matter, or are in unfortunate surroundings by which they have been influenced to their own moral hurt;" or this taking of "the wrong—that is, the anti-American side," is due to "sheer timidity." Consistency is not always too apparent. Thus, in the fervor of a discussion of the Monroe Doctrine a European colony like British Guiana, "looked at through the vista of the centuries," is made to play a pitiable figure as compared with Venezuela or Ecuador. But in reviewing Pearson's "National Life and Character," the essayist lightly tells us: "No American or Australian cares in the least that the tan-colored peoples of Brazil and Ecuador now live under governments of their own instead of being ruled by viceroys from Portugal and Spain."

On the whole, it may be questioned whether these essays did not make their best impression in their original form of publication. Through them all there sounds the note of sturdy patriotism; their verve is admirable. But in consecutive reading there is some danger that they may pall. The favorite ideas reappear upon the stage at frequent intervals, and their costumes, though brilliant, are too little varied.

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*A Quaker Experiment in Government.* A history of the connection of the Quakers with the government of Pennsylvania, from 1682 to 1756. By ISAAC SHARPLESS, President of Haverford College. Pp. 280. Price, \$1.50. Philadelphia: Alfred J. Ferris, 1898.

There was a need for a study of the political history of the Pennsylvania Quakers during the first hundred years of the life of the colony which Penn founded for the purpose of realizing the ideals of government and religion held by himself and his fellow-believers. Former students have relied upon political records for

their sources of material, and, not being members of the Society of Friends, have not always understood the significance of the actions taken by the Quakers. President Sharpless has studied both the 'ordinary public sources of information' and "the contemporary Quaker view" as revealed in the records of the various Quaker meetings and in the correspondence of the more influential Friends. "The minutes of the yearly and other meetings," he says in the preface of the book, "would give a different idea of the political principles from that to be gathered from the printed proceedings of either the council or the legislature, and all should be considered in making up a correct historical judgment." Being a Friend, President Sharpless approaches his subject in full sympathy with the views held by Penn and the other Quakers, but his sympathies have not made him a partisan; he has throughout maintained a commendable attitude of fairness.

The chapters of the book deal severally with the "Principles of Government," "The Quakers in England," "The Quakers in Pennsylvania," "Democracy and Civil Liberty," "Religious Liberty," "The Indians," "Military Matters," and the "Last Days of Quaker Control in the Assembly." The principles upon which the Quakers attempted to found their American commonwealth the author declares were: (1) Perfect democracy; (2) Perfect religious liberty; (3) Perfect justice and fairness in dealing with the Indians; (4) The absence of all military and naval provision for attack and defence; (5) The abolition of oaths. The book sets forth in detail the efforts which the Quakers made to carry out these principles, shows to what extent the members of the Society of Friends abandoned these principles and analyzes the forces that account for the ultimate failure of the Quakers to realize their political ideals, and their consequent retirement from the control of the assembly in 1756.

The two chapters on "Democracy and Civil Liberty" and "Religious Liberty" are the best as well as the longest in the book. They are especially well done, and reflect the catholicity of the author's mind. The political doctrines of William Penn are well outlined, and the discussion of their practical working in Pennsylvania constitutes a suggestive chapter in political science.

The fact that the Quakers were kept in control of the assembly for nearly seventy years, although they constituted a decreasing minority of the population after the beginning of the eighteenth century, is one that has not been satisfactorily explained by previous writers. President Sharpless gives the subject consideration in different parts of his book, and seems to exonerate the Quakers from resort to any sharp political practices. The political alliance of the

Germans with the Quakers enabled the Friends to retain political control as long as they desired to accept seats in the assembly. The reasons why the Germans always voted for the Quakers are not adequately given by the author. It is probable that a closer study than has yet been made of the economic history of the colony will throw added light on the question.

President Sharpless has written a book which students of the colonial history of Pennsylvania cannot afford to pass by. A perusal of the book will materially aid in obtaining a clear picture of the forces which controlled the history of Pennsylvania from 1689 to 1756. The author commands a clear, terse style, free from all verbiage. Those who have read this work will be pleased to know that it is soon to be followed by a volume covering the history of the Quakers from 1756 through the Revolutionary War.

EMORY R. JOHNSON.

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*Outlines of Sociology.* By LESTER F. WARD. Pp. xii, 301. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

Readers who have hesitated to follow Professor Ward through the two stout volumes of his "Dynamic Sociology" (1883) and the somewhat exacting pages of his "Psychic Factors of Civilization" (1893), will welcome the compact statement of his social philosophy in this book which is made up of twelve articles originally published (1895-97) in the *American Journal of Sociology*. As these articles formed a coherent and progressive series, they naturally assume a unity in book form, and are in no sense a mere collection of detached essays.

The division of the work into "Social Philosophy" and "Social Science" is open to attack from those who demand in science a first hand dealing with phenomena. It is true that throughout the book social phenomena are constantly assumed, but nowhere defined, except by rather indirect implication, *e. g.*, "Society itself, which includes all the structures and institutions that may exist at any given time, *together with a vague but general psychic integration*" . . . (p. 170). But it is fair to say that the author in his preface is far from strenuous about this division, very justly insisting that philosophy and science are relative terms at best. By the strict constructionists the whole volume would be set down as social philosophy. The more specific phenomena of association such as imitation, subordination, social consciousness (*i. e.* as a subjective fact), etc., are nowhere systematically or even directly dealt with.

Part I seeks to explain the relation of sociology to other sciences.

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It is a clear and able exposition and defence of the Comtean hierarchy which has suffered in its scientific status from the eccentricities of its formulator. Professor Ward admits the possibility of as many valid classifications of the sciences as there are useful principles of classification, but he insists that the principle of increasing complexity and serial dependence is of great value. It arranges certain general sciences in a genetic order that is full of meaning for the interpretation of nature and society. This order must be: physics and chemistry, biology, psychology and sociology.

The chapter on the "Relation of Sociology to Cosmology" sets forth the author's monistic philosophy in a clear and interesting manner, but perhaps his most important thesis is contained in his discussion of the organic or biological theory of society. A true *homology* is asserted between the animal nervous system and the regulating—largely governmental—system of society. Judged by this standard society is an organism of a very low type with only slight powers of co-ordination, and conscious adjustment. This is another way of approaching the conclusions of DeGreef, von Hartmann and others who emphasize the predominant part played by the unconscious in social development. To this discussion Professor Ward returns in Part II. Since sociology rests directly upon psychology, the nature of mind is of the utmost concern to the student of society. The author distinguishes two faculties or sides of mind, the affective, which supplies motive power, and the rational or intellectual, which assumes the task of guidance. Will resolves itself simply into the resultant of feeling directed by intelligence. Feeling is naturally associated with pleasure seeking and pain avoiding; *i. e.*, desires which pursue concrete objects. On the basis of this psychological analysis Professor Ward proceeds to construct society. The desires of men are declared to constitute social forces, true natural forces which may be controlled by intellectual devices in a way strictly parallel with the mechanician's control of physical energies. The discussion of legislation as invention, based on a mechanical view of society, is one of the most interesting parts of the volume. The practical value of the conception appeals to the reformer who is in search of guiding principles. One cannot escape the feeling that a few concrete illustrations of "attractive" legislation would make the point even more clear and definite. But the limits of the book could not reasonably admit such expansion.

The distinctions between social statics and dynamics are drawn with skill and emphasized with much vigor. While there may be some difference of opinion as to the need for such new words as *social genesis* and *telesia*, there can be no dispute as to the value

of the ideas involved. That society progresses at first spontaneously and unconsciously, only in its latest stages displaying anything like collective purpose, are facts which cannot be denied.

In the discussion of individual and collective teleis the author very clearly points out the difference between social activities which are motivated by the immediate personal self-seeking of individuals and those which have their origin in a commonly conceived general aim.

In general it may be said that Professor Ward has won for himself a place as dean of American sociologists. He has treated society most admirably from the objective point of view. His work must have a permanent value, in spite of the trend away from the interpretation of "society as a whole" toward the explanation of social relations in other terms. The centre of present interest is not the abstract individuals of the older individualist psychology compounded into a great whole, but the actual concrete individual conceived as inextricably bound up in that plexus of personalities which we call society. Both the social and individual aspects of the problem are important, and to Professor Ward is due the credit of having ably outlined the whole field from the collective or objective point of view.

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*Industrial Democracy.* By SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB. Two volumes. Pp. xxii, 929. Price, \$6.00. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897.

The authors of this book gave to the world in 1894 the fullest history of the English trade unions which we possess. It was a great and an entirely creditable achievement, and as a monument of industrious and patient labor it belonged to the best works of its kind. Now Mr. and Mrs. Webb have eclipsed their feat of four years ago by publishing a scientific analysis of trade unionism in a work which admirably supplements the earlier volume and should unconditionally be placed side by side with it in the library. "Industrial Democracy" will be a revelation to those to whom hitherto trade unions have been mere labor organizations of more or less accidental genesis and indefinite aims. The authors of this exhaustive treatise have made it their business to analyze and synthesize the written and unwritten constitutions and the traditional and conventional practices, methods and formularies of trade unions, and the result is a systematic presentation of the whole subject.



which cannot but be of profound interest and value alike to the sociological student and the practical politician.

The work is divided into three parts, of which the first and shortest deals with trade union structure, the second, and by far the longest, with trade union function, and the third with trade union theory. The early trade club was a democracy of the most rudimentary type, free alike from permanently differentiated officials, executive council or representative assembly, and we are shown how, step by step, the modern trade union, embracing all these distinctively democratic features, has been evolved. The authors are satisfied that the departure from the early form of democratic government was less a result of the growth of the financial and secretarial transactions of the unions than of the exigencies of their warfare with the employers, and they regard the legal and social persecutions to which trade unionists were subjected until about the year 1824, as the determining factor in the case. Nevertheless, they point out how slowly, how reluctantly and how incompletely the trade unionists have incorporated in their constitutions "what is often regarded as the specifically Anglo-Saxon form of democracy—the elected representative assembly, appointing and controlling a standing executive." The fact is, that in the early days the trade unionists did not know to what their action and combination would lead; they moved as events impelled them, and the changes in organization which have successively followed have been dictated by experience and expediency. Here political democracy and industrial democracy, in the United Kingdom at least, have advanced on very similar lines, and the success and stability of both may be largely attributed to the evolutionary process. The authors follow in considerable detail the changes of organization which resulted when trade unionism passed from the local to the national phase of its career, until to-day the salaried, and virtually permanent official (general secretary) occupies a position of authority and influence which was never contemplated originally, while the executive committee, though nominally entrusted with large powers of control, has taken more and more a secondary place. Incidentally, the authors observe that "so strong is the dominant impulse toward the complete union of a trade from one end of the United Kingdom to the other, that it seems during the last few years to be slowly overcoming the reluctance of both English and Irish organizations," but at the same time they are not blind to the existence of trade union rivalry—as, for instance, antagonistic "touting" for members—the suicidal effects of which are pointed out in the chapter on "Inter-union Relations." In their opinion

all attempts at great "general" aggregate unions are foredoomed to failure, and the most efficient form of trade union organization is "one in which the several sections can be united for the purposes that they have in common, to the extent to which harmony of interest prevails, and no further, whilst at the same time each section preserves complete autonomy wherever its interests or purposes diverge from those of its allies."

In the second section of the work, the actual as distinct from the theoretical functions of trade unions are described—the methods employed, the regulations imposed upon the members and the general policy pursued. These are far from being the same for all unions or groups of unions, and as a consequence the authors have been compelled to extend their investigations to every single organized trade in every part of the Kingdom. It may be objected that in covering the ground so thoroughly the sense of proportion has been lost—the third part runs to no fewer than 460 pages—and that an equal purpose would have been served had the treatment been far less exhaustive. At any rate, Mr. and Mrs. Webb have left no room for rivals and successors; the work has been done once for all, and one subject of sociological inquiry, at least, will henceforth be closed to those ambitious of literary distinction. It is profoundly interesting to follow our authors as they trace the gradual change which has come over the trade unions in the formulation of their purposes and aims. "The chief object of our society is to elevate the social position of our members" is a typical general statement, but the words are variously interpreted by the unions. In the mouths of the Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners they involve the "securing to all members the fair reward of their labor," "the enforcement of the Factory Acts and other legislative enactments for the protection of labor," etc.; while the general rules of the National Union of Gasworkers and General Laborers places in the forefront the shortening of the hours of labor, the obtaining of an eight hours day, the raising of wages both of men and women, the abolition, where possible, of overtime and Sunday work (necessarily very common in the gas-making industry) and the election on public bodies, of labor representatives pledged to out-and-out collectivism.

The authors examine at great length the various contrivances by means of which trade unions pursue their objects: (1) The first of these is the method of mutual insurance, which is of the twofold nature of "friendly" insurance (as against accident, sickness and old age) and "out of work" insurance. "Friendly" insurance, however, is and must always be a subsidiary consideration, not only

because it may easily be effected in other and better ways, but because the question with which trade unions, from their very nature, most concern themselves are those of wages and the conditions of employment. (2) The second method of trade union action is that of collective bargaining, which has nowadays superseded the old and ineffective plan of individual bargaining in a very large portion of the industrial field, and it is noteworthy that the largest and most enterprising employers are found to prefer this sort of negotiation, not simply because of the clumsiness of the old system, but because negotiations with delegated representatives of their workpeople are found to be attended with more permanent and therefore more satisfactory results. (3) A further means of determining the extent of wages and the conditions of employment is arbitration, the principle of which is that "decision is not (necessarily) the will of either party or the outcome of negotiation between them, but the fiat of an umpire or arbitrator." Naturally arbitration is generally resorted to as a means of accommodation or conciliation, as a rule, when negotiation has resulted in a dead-lock, and yet the points of difference are regarded as capable of adjustment on the principle of give-and-take. The authors are not blind to the disadvantages of this method of settling outstanding differences of opinion. The chief is that it is impossible, legally, to bind either side to accept the umpire's finding, and it is this defect in all systems of industrial conciliation yet tried in the United Kingdom which has led to proposals on various sides for some legislative machinery for the compulsory settlement of disputes—which, as is here truly pointed out, is tantamount to the fixing of wages by law. The working classes are not more ready than the employers to resort to independent arbitration, though in the coal and iron industries it is not an uncommon thing, and it is significant that during a wages dispute in Lancashire in 1897 the operatives expressly declined arbitration on the curious ground that the umpires would probably decide against the men, as had been the case on a former occasion. The incident deserves to be added to the authors' list of "modern instances." (4) The method of legal enactment is another and still more fertile means by which British trade unions have sought to attain their ends, and never was the faith in the power of parliament—as distinct from its will—to promote industrial interests greater than at the present time. What has been achieved in this manner since the first acts for the regulation of industry were passed amid the execrations of the *laissez faire* party of that day Mr. and Mrs. Webb recount in a chapter of great immediate interest. (5) The standard rate of payment—"the

insistence of a payment according to some definite standard uniform in its application"—which is perhaps one of the most disputable of trade union methods, though from the standpoint of labor one of the most vital importance. (6) The normal day, in the fixing of which legislation has probably done more than private bargaining. (7) Sanitation and safety, as to which English legislation is only now being placed on a rational and logical basis. (8) New processes and machinery, and the extent to which trade unions claim a voice in their regulation. (9) Continuity of employment. (10) The conditions, attached by trade unions to entrance to certain trades, are likewise treated with fullness and judgment, and having thus completed their survey of the current regulations of British trade unionism the authors summarize the results in chapters on "The Implication," and "The Assumptions of Trade Unions." Incidentally they show how strong is the opposition of trade unionists to the "house" or "home" system of employment and in general to the "small master" system, under which work is almost invariably ill-remunerated and carried on amidst objectionable and often harmful sanitary conditions.

In the third part of the work, that on trade union theory, Mr. and Mrs. Webb deal with the attitude of scientific economists toward trade unions in the past, and it is no difficult task to prove that this attitude has been underlain by not a few misconceptions. It is "fighting battles o'er again" and "thrice to slay the slain," to demolish the old theory of the wages fund, which has done so much service for individualism in the past, but if the work had to be done the authors have done it well and thoroughly. The chapter on the subject is one of the ablest in the book and is full of original and suggestive observations, based on the authors' experience of industrial life and conditions as existing in the present day. Chapters on "The Higgling of the Market" and "The Economic Characteristics of Trade Unionism" lead up to the "moral" of the whole work, as contained in a concluding chapter on "Trade Unionism and Democracy."

Premising that, in sympathy with the democratic conformation of British society, trade unionists will find themselves compelled to "put forward a policy of which no part runs counter to the interests and ideals of the bulk of the people," the authors make the following prediction:

"The complete acceptance of democracy, with its acute consciousness of the interests of the community as a whole, and its insistence on equality of opportunity for all citizens, will necessitate a reconsideration by the trade unionists of their three doctrines—the

abandonment of one, the modification of another and the far-reaching extension and development of the third. To begin with the doctrine of vested interests, we may infer that, whatever respect may be paid to the 'established expectations' of any class, this will not be allowed to take the form of a resistance to inventions, or of any obstruction of improvements in industrial processes. Equitable consideration of the interests of existing workers will no doubt be more and more expected, and popular governments may even adopt Mill's suggestion of making some provision for operatives displaced by a new machine. . . . Coming now to the doctrine of supply and demand, we see that any attempt to better the strategic position of a particular section by the device of restriction of numbers will be unreservedly condemned. Not only is this device inconsistent with the democratic instinct in favor of opening up the widest possible opportunity for every citizen, but it is hostile to the welfare of the community as a whole, and especially to the manual workers, in that it tends to distribute the capital, brains and labor of the nation less productively than would otherwise be the case. . . . It is accordingly on the side of the doctrine of a living wage that the present policy of trade unionism will require most extension. Democratic public opinion will expect each trade to use its strategic position to secure the conditions necessary for the fulfillment of its particular social function in the best possible way—to obtain, that is to say, not what will be immediately most enjoyed by the 'average sensual man,' but what, in the long run, will most conduce to his efficiency as a professional, a parent and a citizen."

It is their conviction that "this national minimum the public opinion of the democratic state will not only support, but positively insist on for the common weal. . . . It is accordingly upon the trade unions that the democratic state must mainly rely for the stimulus, expert counsel and persistent watchfulness without which a national minimum can neither be obtained nor enforced." Thus it follows that:

"Trade unionism is not merely an incident of the present phase of capitalist industry, but has a permanent function to fulfill in the democratic state. Should capitalism develop in the direction of gigantic trusts, the organization of the manual workers in each industry will be the only effective bulwark against social oppression. If, on the other hand, there should be a revival of the small master system, the enforcement of common rules will be more than ever needed to protect the community against industrial parasitism. And if, as we personally expect, democracy moves in the direction of superseding both the little profit-maker and the trust, by the

salaries officer of the co-operative society, the municipality and the government department, trade unionism would remain equally necessary. For even under the most complete collectivism, the directors of each particular industry would, as agents of the community of consumers, remain biased in favor of cheapening production, and could, as brainworkers, never be personally conscious of the conditions of the manual laborers."

The foregoing is but the merest outline of the contents and argument of a remarkable work, the preparation of which has entailed a vast expenditure of time and thought. The authors tell us, indeed, that they have devoted to the work no less than six years of investigation, during which they have "examined inside and out the constitution of practically every trade union organization, together with the methods and regulations which it uses to attain its ends." For such a work the systematic economist and the politician, not less than the practical man of commerce and industry, whether employer or workman, has need to be heartily grateful. This and the companion work already named constitute in themselves a very library upon the subject of trade union history, theory and practice, and Mr. and Mrs. Webb are to be congratulated on having brought to so successful an issue the task which they began some ten years ago, when first they entered this fertile and engrossing field of investigation.

Is the work written, as such a work should be, without tendency? On the whole yes, though it is not difficult to detect that the authors have certain very definite predilections. These, however, they repress so far as the presentment and application of facts are concerned, and the most decided opponent of trade unions will not find his patience very severely tried as he reads these pages. Not so the lover of literary decorum. Why the authors should so ostentatiously parade the spelling which is so much in vogue in publications emanating from the socialistic and industrial press, and from it alone, so far as England goes, it is hard to understand. It is a pity, too, that they should still persist in the use of that pet phrase of the socialistic economist "middle-class economy" (with all its variations), a phrase which has come down from Marx and Lassalle, but which is neither scientific nor accurate nor rational. The use of the phrase causes them to fall into more than one self-contradiction. "Down to within the last thirty years it would have been taken for granted by every *educated man* that trade unionism, as a means of bettering the condition of the workman, was against political economy." So we read on page 603, of Volume II. On page 610 we find the following: "And when the trade unionists turned from

the question of wages to-day to the possibility of raising them in the following year, *middle-class opinion* had a no less conclusive answer to their claims." Here the educated classes and the middle classes are taken as identical—with what justification let the reader reflect for himself. The fact is that the phrase "middle-class" (which is only a translation of Marx's "bourgeois") as applied to economic speculation is an entire misnomer and should be abandoned. In passing, too, such a phrase as "capitalist encroachment" (Vol. II, p. 514) smacks too much of the jargon of the street corner to be found in these serious pages.

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## NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

### AMERICAN CITIES.

**Greater New York.—Financial Condition.\*** In his message to the municipal assembly on January 3, Mayor Van Wyck charged the administration of the old city of New York with extravagance, and declared his belief that this had resulted in the city's having exceeded its constitutional debt limit, which is fixed at 10 per cent of the assessed real property valuation. Section 10 of Article VIII of the state constitution declares that "This section shall not be construed to prevent the issuing of certificates of indebtedness or revenue bonds issued in anticipation of the collection of taxes for amounts actually contained, or to be contained, in the taxes for the year when such certificates or revenue bonds are issued and payable out of such taxes." The same section contains provisions which have been interpreted to mean that the indebtedness of a county which is included in whole or in part in the territory of a city, as in the case of the Greater New York, shall not be reckoned as part of such city's indebtedness. Notwithstanding these provisions, the corporation counsel, John Whalen, rendered an opinion that certain of these obligations should be included; and, acting upon this opinion, the comptroller, Bird S. Coler, issued a statement that the old city of New York has exceeded its legal indebtedness by over \$24,000,000, and the new city by \$25,000,000 more. The authorities thereupon ordered work upon a large number of contracts stopped, and declined to allow work to begin on many more.

This statement of Comptroller Coler was criticised by former Comptroller Ashbel P. Fitch and others, who declared that the constitution had been misinterpreted for political purposes, particularly to prohibit the issuing of bonds for an underground system of rapid transit. Suits to determine the issue were threatened by interested property owners and contractors; and in the early part of April the corporation counsel and comptroller revised their figures by deducting nearly \$20,000,000 from the street and park opening bonds. This was followed by other deductions from time to time; and finally, on May 24, the corporation counsel rendered a final opinion that the old city had not reached its debt limit by over \$10,000,000, and the new city by a much larger sum. On June 7, following the opinion of the corpora-

\* Communication of George W. Miller, Esq., Assistant Secretary of the City Club.



tion counsel, the comptroller made a statement before the board of estimate and apportionment, showing that the city was well within its debt limit, and the board reauthorized the issue of \$21,000,000 of bonds for public works authorized by the administration of the old city, and an additional issue of several million dollars for improvements.

*Police.* Several months ago, rumors became current that Tammany Hall desired that Chief of Police McCullagh, a Republican, be retired by the bi-partisan police commission, to make room for a Tammany Democrat, in the interest of a more liberal interpretation of certain laws, to fulfill Tammany's ante-election pledges, or in order, in popular phrase, to "run the town wide open." To accomplish the retirement of Chief McCullagh required the unanimous vote of four police commissioners, or that three vote for retirement, to become operative upon confirmation by the mayor. The two Republican police commissioners, Messrs. Hamilton and Phillips, declined to retire McCullagh; and upon May 21 the mayor, acting under a provision of the charter allowing him to remove heads of departments without cause during the first six months of his term, removed Commissioners Hamilton and Phillips, and upon the same day appointed Jacob Hess in place of one of the Republicans removed. The board, then consisting of two Democrats and one Republican, voted to retire Chief McCullagh, which action was immediately ratified by the mayor. In the meantime, the old police board had by successive steps advanced Police Captain William F. Devery, a Tammany Democrat, from inspector to deputy chief; and the new board promoted him to be chief of police of the Greater New York in place of Mr. McCullagh.

In 1893, Captain Devery was twice called upon by Dr. Parkhurst's society to suppress disorderly houses in his precinct. Captain Devery denied the existence of such houses. The society then proceeded individually against the keepers of the houses complained of, and secured the conviction of many of them. The grand jury then found four indictments against Captain Devery for neglect of duty; but upon trial the jury failed to convict. This case largely caused the appointment of the Lexow Police Investigating Committee, before which damaging testimony was given against Devery. The police commissioners then in power thereupon tried Devery, and by a vote of three to one he was convicted and dismissed from the force. Later, the appellate division of the Supreme Court ordered his re-instatement upon the ground that his constitutional rights had been neglected in his trial before the commissioners. In 1896, the new police board, of which Theodore Roosevelt was president, was unable, owing to legal technicalities, to reopen the case against Devery. He was assigned to an

unimportant uptown district, and remained there until the Tammany administration of 1898, when he was rapidly promoted to be chief.

After the removal of Messrs. Hamilton and Phillips, the Republican machine organization undertook to start a movement to have Mayor Van Wyck removed upon charges, by the governor, for his part in the retirement of Chief McCullagh, but the effort met with no success, as it is believed that the mayor was within his legal powers in the matter. A special session of the legislature is suggested by the Republicans, to amend the bi-partisan police law and to take all control of elections away from the police board as a partial remedy.

*Primary Elections.* Primary elections, under the new primary law, Chapter 179, laws of 1898, were held throughout the Greater New York on June 7. This law was said to be designed to allow greater freedom in primary voting among independent Republicans who professed to believe in the national and state policy of the Republican party, and incorporated many of the safeguards of the so-called ballot reform law in the primary law. Few contests were made by the independent Republicans in the district organizations; and the result in the Republican party was a victory for the machine men in thirty out of thirty-five districts in the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx. In Brooklyn, the Worth faction and the regular Republican machine practically joined forces. In both the Platt and Tammany machines, the old chairmen, or "leaders," of districts were nearly all re-elected.

*Public Education Budget.* The board of estimate and apportionment on May 9 formally passed upon the amounts to be allowed to the Greater New York for educational purposes. The amounts for the various boroughs are: Manhattan and the Bronx, \$6,959,910.23; Brooklyn, \$3,614,628.00; Queens, \$690,424.98; Richmond, \$366,847.21—a total of \$11,591,810.42, or about \$1,860,000 more than the sums allowed for the same territory in 1897. These amounts do not include the expenses of the general board of education, the College of the City of New York, the Normal School, or the Nautical School. The approximate per capita cost of education in the different boroughs for 1898 will be: Manhattan and Bronx, \$33.93; Brooklyn, \$29.48; Queens, \$26.49; Richmond, \$32.57.

*Rapid Transit.* The rapid transit question at present seems to have developed into a squabble between the rapid transit commissioners and the elevated railway companies as to the terms under which the elevated railways shall be allowed to construct parallel railways and connecting links, under seven additional franchises offered to the elevated railways by the rapid transit commission. The political troubles between the commissioners and the city administration continues. The mayor has declined to serve upon a sub-committee of

the rapid transit commission appointed to decide upon compensation to be paid by the elevated railways for these additional franchises.

*Brooklyn Bribery Cases.* In the latter part of March, indictments were found by the Kings County (Brooklyn) grand jury for conspiracy to defraud, bribery, passing false accounts, and falsely certifying to work done, against the following officials of the old city of Brooklyn under the administration of Mayor Wurster, which came to an end in December, 1897: Theodore B. Willis, city works commissioner; Robert W. Fielding, deputy commissioner; Joseph R. Clark, president of the board of aldermen; William Leacraft, alderman; William Milne, inspector in the city works department; Oscar Knapp, water purveyor; William H. Goff, superintendent of sewers; A. L. Jensen, warrant clerk; and William E. Phillips, a prominent politician related to Commissioner Willis, and until recently one of the four bi-partisan police commissioners of the Greater New York. All of these officials were machine Republicans. These indictments grew out of an investigation by Comptroller Coler, which showed that the law requiring that all contracts for public work for amounts of two thousand dollars or more should be publicly let had been violated by the indicted officials, by the old political trick of dividing large amounts of work into small contracts, and granting these contracts privately to favored politicians. A sample case was that of a sum of \$72,906.14 expended for grading streets and covering water mains during October, November and December, 1897, the contracts for which were granted to three or four contractors in amounts between \$1,900 and \$2,000. Trials of the indicted officials are now in progress; and Deputy Commissioner Fielding has already been convicted and sentenced to six months imprisonment and to pay a large fine.

*Mayor's Message.* The first message of the new mayor of Greater New York to the municipal assembly gives evidence of the unsettled condition of the government of the city, under the new charter. The mayor seems to be at sea as to the actual state of the city's indebtedness. According to his estimate, based upon the comptroller's reports, the total assessed valuation of real estate in Greater New York is \$2,464,763,192, and the net funded indebtedness \$227,453,529.11. This leaves an apparent margin within the constitutional limit of a further indebtedness of about \$19,000,000.

In speaking of the organization of the new municipal departments the mayor comments upon the friction inevitable to reorganization of city government. He feels confident, however, that all such shortcomings will be remedied as soon as the newly appointed officials become more closely conversant with their duties. In commenting on the plan for improved transit facilities the mayor strongly favors

the extension of the elevated railway system. Under the recent decision of the New York Supreme Court it will be impossible to construct a rapid transit system without exceeding the constitutional limit of indebtedness. The mayor regrets that the patience, protests and the demands of the people for better transit facilities have been answered with nothing better than a multiplicity of plans. Throughout the message there is manifest a spirit of antagonism to the commissions that exercised authority under the administration of his predecessor.

**Philadelphia.**—*Mayor's Message.* The most important portion of the Third Annual Message of the mayor for the year ending December 31, 1897, relates to the water supply of the city. The imperative necessity of an improvement in the water supply is attested by the appalling disease and death-rate directly traceable to the present source of supply. The mayor strongly recommends the appropriation of a sufficient amount to establish a thorough system of filtration. He intimates that this improvement should be made by the municipality, especially as the cost will not be beyond the financial resources of the city. It is expected that \$3,700,000 will cover all necessary improvements. This is a comparatively insignificant expenditure when it is remembered that the water works yield a large surplus each year. Thus in 1897 the total receipts of the water bureau were \$2,971,357.52 and the expenditures during the year for permanent improvements and the cost of maintenance were \$1,665,153.21. Thus the excess of receipts over expenditures in the annual revenue of this branch of the city service was \$1,306,204.31. If a system of filtration is established it is probable that some measures will be necessary to prevent the inordinate waste of water which is going on at the present time. During the last ten years the consumption per capita per day has increased from eighty-nine to one hundred and eighty-seven gallons. There is no doubt that a plentiful supply of water is a matter of great importance to the health and welfare of the city, but it is equally true that the consumption of one hundred and eighty-seven gallons per capita per day is beyond all reasonable limits. One change which will probably remedy the most flagrant abuses will be to place water meters in all manufacturing establishments, and it is probable that, in time, the water meter system will be introduced throughout the city to check this useless waste.

**Massachusetts.**—*Report of the Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners.* The Thirteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners for the year 1897 gives an interesting account of the condition of that industry throughout the state. This board has now under its supervision one hundred and

thirty-four companies and the gas or electric plants of thirteen towns and two cities. The commission exercises a very careful and close control over the financial operations of all companies. No change of organization, of capital stock, of indebtedness can be made without first obtaining the consent of the commission. Furthermore, the commission has power to remedy any shortcomings in the service of such companies. Its work has been particularly valuable in preventing the watering of stock and over-capitalization which has been such a serious handicap in the exercise of public control over private corporations. One of the most suggestive portions of the report is the description of the movement toward municipal ownership, which seems to have taken a strong hold of the towns and cities of the state. The following table shows the extent to which municipal ownership and operation has proceeded up to December 31, 1897:—

<i>Municipality.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Year of Beginning.</i>	<i>Kind of Supply.</i>	<i>Investment.</i>	<i>Value of Estates.</i>	<i>Tax Rate.</i>
Braintree . . .	5,311	{ Streets '92. Commercial '94 }	Elec. Light.	\$ 60,458	\$ 4,453,825	\$18 30
Chicopee . . .	16,420	1896	Elec. Light.	89,500	9,199,470	17 20
Danvers . . .	5,181	{ Streets '89 Commercial '96 }	Elec. Light.	35,126	6,962,162	18 00
Hingham . . .	4,819	1896	Elec. Light.	{ 23,360 23,660 }	4,033,912	19 10
Hudson . . .	5,308	1897	Elec. Light.	22,836	2,908,750	19 75
Hull . . .	1,044	1894	Elec. Light.	111,965	3,874,215	17 90
Marblehead . .	7,671	1895	Elec. Light.	81,017	5,555,425	16 80
Middleborough .	6,689	1893	Gas & Elec.	103,108	3,347,420	22 10
Needham . . .	3,511	1893	El. St. Light.	14,020	3,194,586	15 80
N. Attleborough .	6,576	1894	Elec. Light.	56,519	3,840,198	23 00
Peabody . . .	10,507	{ Streets '92. Commercial '92 }	Elec. Light.	72,066	7,768,750	16 80
Reading . . .	4,717	1895	Elec. Light.	67,500	4,143,081	18 00
Wakefield . . .	6,304	1894	Gas & Elec.	179,000	6,313,820	17 40
Wellesley . . .	4,229	1892	El. St. Light.	17,000	7,194,585	11 00

This is not, however, the only indication of the movement of sentiment towards municipal ownership. Some 208 towns and cities are considering the question of municipal gas and electric lighting and it is to be expected that within the next five or ten years a large number of municipalities will join the list of those who are now supplying gas and electric light for both public and private purposes.

**Boston.**—*Department of Municipal Statistics.* The Board of Municipal Statistics organized by the city of Boston under ordinance of February 27, 1897, has directed its first efforts toward a more scientific classification of municipal revenue and expenditure. In fact, in its First Annual Report, which has just been published, the board addresses itself to the larger problem of reorganizing the system of municipal

accounting. The lack of uniformity in the system of financial classification in the various city departments, together with the failure to co-ordinate related departments in their method of financiering, has made it quite impossible to determine accurately the financial condition of the city. The board is extremely anxious to introduce greater unity into the method of keeping accounts. As is clearly pointed out in one portion of the report, "one of the fundamental defects, not only in our municipal reports, but in public discussion of municipal finance, is the failure to distinguish between income from money borrowed and from taxation and between money spent for current expenses and for permanent improvements. Few statistics of value on this subject exist in this country, and but little notice is practically taken of the difference. Yet in the management of private business or large corporations, a nice judgment of this question is the very essence of success; no one fact so readily affects the credit and standing of an individual or a corporation as do judgment and habits regarding this single point. From the standpoint of true economics, money raised by taxation is income and money spent for current expenses is an outgo, while with borrowed money the process is reversed—money borrowed becoming a charge and money spent on the plant becoming an asset. There is consequently a vital error in classing money borrowed and taxes together as income, and in classing current expenses and additions to plant together as expenditure."

The board suggests that city expenditures be examined with reference to some uniform classification of city functions. As a tentative scheme the following plan is proposed:

#### I. CENTRAL ORGANIZATION, INCLUDING

- |                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Town or City Hall. | 4. Treasurer.      |
| 2. Executive head.    | 5. Clerk.          |
| 3. Legislative head.  | 6. Law department. |

#### II. PUBLIC SAFETY.

- |                         |                               |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Militia.             | 5. Inspection of buildings.   |
| 2. Police or watch.     | 6. Fire patrol.               |
| 3. Lighting of streets. | 7. Penal institutions (jail). |
| 4. Petty courts.        |                               |

#### III. PUBLIC HEALTH.

- |                     |                        |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Health officers. | 5. Removal of garbage. |
| 2. Quarantine.      | 6. Drainage.           |
| 3. Cemeteries.      | 7. Hospitals.          |
| 4. Street cleaning. |                        |

#### IV. PUBLIC EDUCATION.

- |             |              |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1. Schools. | 2. Libraries |
|-------------|--------------|

## V. PUBLIC CONVENIENCE.

- |                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. Maintenance of streets. | 7. Weights and measures.               |
| 2. " " bridges.            | 8. Regulation by license or inspection |
| 3. " " ferries.            |  |
| 4. Water supply.           | a. of liquor traffic.                  |
| 5. Markets.                | b. of other trades.                    |
| 6. Dock facilities.        |  |

## VI. PUBLIC CHARITIES.

- |                 |                        |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1. Poor relief. | 3. Other institutions. |
| 2. Almshouse.   |                        |

## VII. PUBLIC RECREATION.

- |                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. Parks.       | 4. Music.        |
| 2. Playgrounds. | 5. Celebrations. |
| 3. Baths.       |                  |

Another publication of the same department contains the statistics of municipal appropriations and actual expenditures of the ordinary revenue for the five years 1892 to 1897 inclusive. It is the purpose of the board to publish a series which will furnish a detailed statement of municipal revenue and expenditure during recent years. As a result of the material thus presented it will be possible to form an accurate estimate of the financial condition of the city of Boston. Judging from the activity of the new board during the first nine months of its existence, there is every reason to believe that it will soon become one of the most useful branches of the city government.

*Musical Commission.\** The two latest additions to the very considerable list of unpaid commissions and boards in charge of various branches of the city work are going to work energetically. The Musical Commission is the latest of these bodies. It was established to take charge of the music furnished by the city for free public entertainment. It is composed of five members, all musical experts. Carl Zerrahn is chairman, John A. O'Shea, Jr., vice-chairman, and J. Thomas Baldwin, secretary. A municipal band has been organized, with E. N. Catlin as leader, and numerous open-air concerts will be given through the summer in the public parks and elsewhere in all sections of the city. A considerable economy in cost of public music is looked for, and also a marked improvement in the character and quality of the music. It is suggested that the band be also employed through the winter in giving free indoor concerts in various public halls. Something like thirty years ago the city gave a series of free concerts in Music Hall. They were very popular, but the undertaking was abandoned on the ground that the city had no right to enter upon such activities.

\* Communication of Sylvester Baxter, Esq., Malden, Mass.

*Baths Commission.* The new Baths Commission has taken charge of all the public baths lately in charge of the Board of Health and the Park Commission. A new model bath-house has been built and others are projected. A new beach-bath has been established on Mystic River at the Charlestown Heights pleasureground. With one exception, the wearing of proper bathing-suits at all public baths by men, women and children, and boys over fifteen years old, has been ordered. This is an innovation at the various floating-baths for men and boys, and seems hardly necessary. The exception is the celebrated and immensely popular L-street beach-bath for men and boys on Dorchester Bay, South Boston. This is the oldest municipal public bath in the country. Here nude bathing has always been the rule and will continue. An illustration of the picturesque scene at this bath was a feature of *Scribner's Magazine* for June. The commission will make a charge of one cent for use of towels at all the baths, and bathing suits will be sold at cost price. For this purpose, 300 bathing suits and 200 dozen trunks for men and boys have been ordered, together with 6000 crash towels. All employees at the baths are to be uniformed. Swimming lessons are to be given as a part of the public school course in physical training.

*Park Boating Service.* The Boston Parks Boat-Service Company has been organized to carry on the boating in the waters of the public parks. It has a large number of canoes, rowboats and sailboats, together with steamboats, electric and other motor launches, let at reasonable rates, under regulations of the park department. The company has been given a concession for three years, for which it pays \$1000 a year. The city has leased, at a nominal rental, sites for club houses to various yacht clubs at Marine Park, the greatest yachting rendezvous in America.

*Buffalo.—Public School Investigation.* The visiting committee of the Buffalo School Association, which was appointed in June, 1896, has published the results of its inquiry into the sanitary condition of the city's schools. The results are in many respects startling, proving the existence of conditions unworthy of a progressive community. When we remember that nearly half the day of the average child is spent in the school, the question of the environment, as a purely educative factor, becomes of tremendous importance. One of the greatest evils to which the committee directs attention is the overcrowded condition of most of the school buildings. More than one-half of the schools are using rooms as classrooms that were never intended for that purpose. Basements, attics and localities, defective in ventilation and other sanitary requirements, are filled with large classes. Furthermore, in many



of the schools there is not only a lack of schoolrooms, but of seats as well. In eighteen of the schools there are more pupils than desks, requiring two children to sit at a single desk. The majority of schoolrooms fail to furnish their occupants with the proper cubic air space. The "annexes" are in a far worse condition. They are for the most part rented buildings, never designed for school purposes and lacking in every sanitary requirement. The committee furthermore found a most disgraceful condition existing in the dressing-rooms, lavatories, etc. It is safe to say that this report, which has been widely circulated, will do much to awaken public opinion to a sense of the danger of such conditions to the future health and welfare of the community.

*Mayor's Message.* The annual message of the mayor devotes considerable space to the relation of the city to the corporations performing quasi-public services. The recent agreement of the gas companies and the manipulation of franchise privileges which accompanied this change has aroused in the population a strong feeling of discontent. The mayor recommends that an investigation into the operations of the gas company be made and that if no satisfactory understanding can be reached the provision of the charter of the city which authorizes the purchase, construction, maintenance and regulation of works to provide the city and its inhabitants with light be made effective. The mayor recommends, furthermore, that application be made to the legislature to authorize the city to issue bonds for the construction of a lighting plant.

*Illinois.—Street Railway Franchise.* The Ninth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics contains an exhaustive discussion of the street railway franchises of the city of Chicago, of the gas companies operating in that city and an analysis of the Report of the Tax Commission appointed in 1896 by the Hon. George B. Swift, then mayor of Chicago. Unfortunately for some reason or other the report has been badly cut up, omissions are frequent and at times destroy the continuity of the discussion. The reason assigned by the present head of the bureau, Mr. David Ross, is that the report was limited in volume by the secretary of state to 300 pages. This is hardly an excuse for cutting out important chapters and printing others in such a way as to destroy their internal relation to other portions of the report. It is charged that the reasons for these changes have been purely political.

The report contains a great mass of valuable material, particularly chapters on street railway franchises, which we understand were prepared by Professor E. W. Bemis. After presenting a general discussion of the relation of the modern municipality to public services, such as

the street railway, gas, etc., and after making a comparison between the administrative organization of American and European cities, the report enters upon an examination of the development of the street railway business in Chicago since 1856, the date at which street railways were first introduced. The history of the growth of the street railway system, especially the changes of the last ten years, offers an example of changes in method of operation which have been almost revolutionary. This remarkable growth of the street railway system, together with the absence of all public control, have furnished the opportunity to speculators to manipulate the various roads through skilful financiering in such a way as to lead to enormous over-capitalization. The report clearly shows that the present cost of duplication is about one-half of the capitalization of the roads, and about one-third their approximate market value. The per mile capitalization of the three great railway corporations of Chicago is as follows:

Chicago Street Railway . . . . .	\$90,216
West Chicago Street Railroad . . . . .	149,501
North Chicago Street Railroad . . . . .	146,346
Average . . . . .	126,460

The capitalization of the Massachusetts street railways is \$46,600. It is evident that the high capitalization of the Chicago roads is due largely to the fact that the stock has been watered on a very large scale. At the present time, however, this stock has to a considerable extent passed into the hands of innocent third parties. The city, therefore, finds itself handicapped, inasmuch as it is prevented by both the national and state constitutions from destroying vested interests. Even if it were possible to reduce the capitalization, it is more than probable that the persons most injured would be the innocent purchasers of street railway stock.

The emphasis of the evils consequent upon the absence of public control over corporations is a real service at the present time. The author of the report, however, has failed to give to the promoters of street railway combinations due credit for the great improvements which they have introduced. There is no doubt that the consolidation of the street railway lines has been the means of making possible improvements on a very large scale. This is an advantage which should not be readily lost sight of. It is true that these promoters have not had any direct interest in any public service they were performing. As a matter of fact the business interests of these great corporations have led them to develop a street railway service which stands far above anything that European cities can at the present time offer. While such improvement has been made at great cost to the community, and while the public treasury of our municipalities suffer

because of the failure to safeguard the financial interests of the city, it cannot be denied that our citizens are enjoying the advantages of rapid transit and that each year brings with it some new addition to the facilities enjoyed.

The report on gas companies of Chicago, previous to 1885, is a monograph which is full of the most valuable data on the history of this important class of public service corporations. This portion of the report has been inserted out of its natural position, as it requires some transposition of the material on the part of the reader in order to fully realize the wealth of the material presented. This, however, has been no fault of the author, but has been due to the carelessness or design of those in charge of the publication of the report.

The importance of this publication, the great industry with which the facts have been collected and the ability with which they have been presented, make it extremely desirable that the report be reprinted in the form in which it was originally presented. The manuscript as originally compiled contained the following chapters:

**SUBJECT: FRANCHISES AND TAXATION.**

**CONTENTS—PART I.—*Franchises.***

- Chapter I.—Monopolies, Old and New.
- Chapter II.—Street Railways.
- Chapter III.—A Four-Cent Fare.
- Chapter IV.—Gas.
- Chapter V.—Internal Monopoly Bills.
- Chapter VI.—The Telephone.
- Chapter VII.—Appendices.

**PART II.—*Taxation.***

- Chapter I.—Report of Mayor Swift's Commission.
- Chapter II.—Explanatory Statement of the Eighth Biennial Report of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In the report as printed Chapters III, V and part of Chapter VII have been omitted; and the order of the other chapters changed.

**FOREIGN CITIES.**

**Berlin.—*Elections.*** The recently published statistics of local elections throw an interesting side-light on the Prussian electoral system. Up to the present time the government has been able to resist the demands for universal suffrage. In Prussian municipal elections the three-class electoral system is still maintained, which gives to the wealthier classes a preponderant influence in local affairs. In the elections for members of the municipal council the population is divided into three classes, on the basis of state and local direct taxes. Those paying the highest tax rate up to one-third of the total sum constitute the electors of the first class; the

next highest rate, whose combined taxes constitute a third of the total direct taxation, constitute the second class; and the remaining taxpayers are grouped in the third class of electors. Under a recent registration it was found that in the city of Berlin there were 298,978 electors, classified as follows:

Electors of the First Class . . . . .	1,486
" " " Second " . . . . .	9,432
" " " Third " . . . . .	288,060

The electors of the first class include those who paid a minimum of \$973 direct taxes. All those paying between \$195 and \$973 constitute the electors of the second class; and all others paying direct taxes being included in the third class. It will be seen from these figures that one-thirtieth of the total electoral body elects two-thirds of the municipal council, for, under the Prussian Municipal Corporations Act, each electoral class elects one-third of the council.

*Gas Works.* The report of the Berlin gas works for the year 1895-96 shows a remarkable increase in the consumption of gas, particularly for heating and cooking purposes. A reduction of  $16\frac{3}{4}$  per cent in the price of gas for other than illuminating purposes immediately caused an increase of 35 per cent in the consumption for such purposes. The increased consumption necessitated considerable extensions in the city works, which have now reached a high stage of efficiency.

*The Municipal Savings Bank.* This institution, at the end of March, 1896, reports a total of more than forty-four million dollars and a reserve fund of nearly three million dollars. The total payments for the year 1895-96 amount to a little over ten million dollars. At the present time the number of outstanding savings bank books is 543,079.

*Street Railways.* For some time past the city has been negotiating with the street railway companies for the substitution of electricity for horse power. At the present time a number of overhead and underground trolley lines have been introduced. In July, 1895, the city entered into a contract with a private corporation for the construction of an electric elevated road. The street railway companies are unwilling to make any considerable changes in their present system, owing to the fact that their franchises will expire in a short time, the lines then reverting to the city, with option to purchase rolling stock. It is probable that no radical changes will be made unless the city agrees to renew the franchises for a long period. If this is not done, the change will not be made until the city becomes full possessor of the street railway lines.

## SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

**Proposed Changes in Massachusetts Poor Laws.\***—The State Board of Lunacy and Charity in Massachusetts in its Nineteenth Annual Report† recommends that the care of all indigent and neglected children be entrusted to the state, irrespective of the question of their (city or town) settlement. As a matter of fact the majority of pauper children are now state charges. The exceptions are cases due to loss of parents or to parents' poverty where the settlement of parents is known. It is certain that the minority looked after by overseers of the poor will be much more wisely cared for if they are transferred. It is interesting, by the way, to note that the relative percentages of children under state care who are in institutions, self-supporting in families or at board in families remains about the same as in 1896. The percentages for the last three years are significant:

	1895.	1896.	1897.
In Institutions . . . . .	16	16	15
In Families (without board) . . . . .	56	55	55
In Families (with board) . . . . .	28	29	30

It would thus appear that the necessary use of institutions has been minimized about as far as it can be under present conditions. Of course it must be remembered that juvenile delinquents, who must in nearly all cases be given at least a short training in institutions before being placed out or returned to their families, are included in this 15 per cent.

The board also recommends that the city and town pauper insane be transferred to state institutions and state control. At present these unfortunates may be boarded at town expense in the state asylums, but the overseers may, if they chose, board them in families or keep them in city and town almshouses. Thus in 1897, there were 907 in the almshouses. The boarding in families is coming to be recognized as a very good way of dealing with certain classes of insane. But it is doubtful if the overseers have sufficient scientific knowledge to exercise a wise control in this matter, and certainly the use of almshouses for confinement is an unmixed evil. The fact that a reform of this sort has come so late in so progressive a state as Massachusetts is probably another bit of evidence of the survival of the old New England town idea.

\* Contributed by Mr. F. H. McLean, Fellow in Sociology, University of Pennsylvania.

† 1897. Boston. Pp. 229, lxxxii.

For those interested in laws of settlement the following will be of moment: The board recommends that the statutes be so amended that any adult living in any place in the state for three consecutive years shall gain a settlement; that legitimate children shall follow the settlement of their parents and that all persons absent from the state for ten consecutive years shall thereby lose their settlements.

**Abuses in New York Charities.\***—In its report for the year 1897, lately transmitted to the legislature, the State Board of Charities gives credence to a statement which has been going the rounds for some time to the effect that probably nearly 50 per cent of the population of New York City obtain practically free medical treatment. The volume of work carried on by dispensaries is indicated in figures like these: "In the borough of Manhattan there are 66 or more dispensaries and from 57 of these the board has received reports for the past year. These reports show 1,043,428 cases treated and 1,674,280 prescriptions furnished, an average of 18,305 cases and 29,373 prescriptions to each dispensary." The reason why the board cannot definitely fix the number of dispensaries is because some of them are not incorporated and do not therefore come to the notice of the board. The board is still continuing its efforts for legislation which will give it control over dispensaries throughout the state. Till then, gross abuse of medical charities will probably continue.

Apparently there is also a considerable overgrowth of institutions for children, for the board states that there are now probably 4000 vacant beds in such institutions within New York City. Of course money for the establishment of juvenile institutions can probably be obtained with greater ease than for many other charities. But the waste indicated in the above figures is certainly a striking one when it is remembered that there is a dearth of homes for the aged in the same city.

The board's control does not extend beyond incorporated charities or those applying for incorporation. It has begun to recognize that some charities who do not come into this category are carrying on unwise work. Therefore it has very pertinently asked the question: "Should unincorporated charities be permitted to exist?" The report thus argues: "Charitable organizations voluntarily seek to perform a quasi-public service when they undertake to relieve the poor and when their work is wisely planned and properly directed, they are frequently capable of doing much good. If the contrary

\*Contributed by Mr. F. H. McLean, Fellow in Sociology, University of Pennsylvania.

be true, however, as often proves to be the case, their efforts commonly serve to aggravate and increase the very evils they are intended to alleviate, thus adding to the burden of taxation which falls upon the industrious, and lowering the character of the state's citizenship. Obviously under these circumstances the state is directly interested to a very marked extent and possesses the power and the right to seek out and apply reasonable and adequate remedies."

But perhaps the worst abuses which the board has discovered during the year are those connected with the placing out of children—abuses which have induced it to champion a bill making it unlawful for either public or private corporations, institutions or societies or private persons "to place out in families or in private or other homes in this state, or elsewhere from this state, by indenture or otherwise, any orphan, abandoned or destitute child, except such child be so placed out in accordance with rules and regulations to be established by the State Board of Charities." A special committee of the board made an investigation of the subject during the year and from the testimony adduced it appears that not only are a number of well-meaning philanthropic societies engaging in the work with more or less intelligence and care, but there are also some individuals who are conducting it as a pure matter of business. The latter take the children from those responsible for their care for a money consideration, and of course do not care particularly where they place them. It is apparent how under such conditions, gross abuses will rise. If the board does not obtain full control of the matter, by adequate legislation, it is probable that this system of caring for pauper children in New York will be greatly discredited by the discovery and public revelation of bad cases of cruelty, neglect and immorality.

At the time of this writing a compromise bill has been finally passed, and is awaiting the veto or approval of the governor. It provides for the general regulating of placing out. In general, it decrees that individuals, incorporated societies and *non-charitable* incorporated societies engaged in this work must be licensed by the State Board of Charities, and that *incorporated charitable* societies who abuse their privileges may be prohibited further activity in this direction, such prohibition being subject to review by the Supreme Court. The bill regulating dispensaries was finally buried in an assembly committee.

**The Development of the Poor Law in England since 1885.**—Under this title Dr. P. F. Aschrott, the author of that excellent and widely used book entitled "The English Poor Law System," has

recently published in Schmoller's *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung*\* a review of the discussion and legislation on this subject in England during the past ten years. Probably no period in the history of the English Poor Law has been more fruitful of active and far-reaching discussion on this subject, certainly not since the two decades preceding the adoption of the law of 1834. Dr. Aschrott occupies a high position in the administrative system of Germany as *Landgerichtsrat* in Berlin. He has, moreover, spent considerable time in England studying not merely the details of the English administrative system, but also its social conditions, and his opinion of the significance of recent changes, especially the changes in the attitude of the general public toward the poor law in England, is therefore of interest to many persons. Naturally, his monograph is intended chiefly to inform his own countrymen of the conditions in England with a view to suggesting their bearing upon German conditions. He begins with some account of the way in which the fundamental principle of English poor law, as laid down in the fundamental law of 1834, has been attacked on all sides, especially by socialists and collectivists in recent years, and he views with evident satisfaction the result, namely, that although several commissions have investigated the matter and have printed long and valuable documentary testimony, the results as embodied in legislation have merely remedied evils connected with the administration of the older laws and have not in any way modified the fundamental principle of the English poor law. He calls particular attention to the way in which special demands for relief, particularly those arising from periods when non-employment was more general than usual, were met by such temporary facilities as the Mansion House Relief Fund. He finds that this distribution of relief, as is usually the experience elsewhere in similar cases, was very poorly executed and did very considerable harm. He also calls attention to the fact that after careful consideration of the Elberfeld system in the various cities of Germany that the local government board decided that the results did not justify any general introduction of such a system into England. Many of the important points brought out in the report of the Poor Relief Commission of 1888† and in the report of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor‡ constitute an invaluable source of information for all students not merely of poor relief questions, but also of existing social conditions in England.

Speaking in general of the results of the recent agitation and of

\* Reprinted in pamphlet form. Pp. 68. Leipzig : Duncker & Humboldt, 1898.

† Parliamentary Papers, 1888, No. 363.

‡ Ibid, 1895, No. 7684.



the changes introduced in consequence, Dr. Aschrott considers a most important gain to have been the enlarged work which women are permitted to do in connection with the administration of the poor law. They are not only now permitted to vote for poor relief officers, but are eligible for election to most of the local boards and also to appointment as relief officers.

In the second part of his monograph, Dr. Aschrott has discussed at some length the minor administrative changes of recent years, grouping them under the following heads: (1) The workhouse principle and outdoor relief; (2) administration of workhouses; (3) provision for poor children; (4) provision for the sick poor; (5) the casual poor. These divisions correspond with divisions in the author's larger book and will enable those who use that work, either in the original German edition or in the English translation, to have the material brought down to date. In the third and closing section, some half dozen pages are devoted to recent statistics of various kinds of poor relief in England and some little discussion of the fundamental aspects of the present laws.

**Improved Housing.**—The Board of Directors of the City and Suburban Homes Company in New York City presented its Second Annual Report on May 5, 1898, in which it shows a very considerable activity and a generally prosperous condition in the affairs of the company. Five per cent interest was paid to shareholders on March 1 upon instalments on account of subscription to the capital stock. Of the total amount of stock allotted in January, 1897, five thousand shares of the par value of \$10 each were reserved for the benefit of persons who might desire them but who had not previously subscribed. This was done with a view to extending the number of stockholders and thus interesting a wider public in the affairs of the company. Of this amount of reserve stock, all but 193 shares have been recently allotted. The company also proposes to increase its capital stock to \$2,000,000 and this amount was approved at a meeting held on April 25. The first block of homes constructed by the company are known as the "Alfred Corning Clark Buildings," and cover nineteen city lots on West Sixty-eighth and Sixty-ninth streets between Amsterdam and West End avenues, New York City. This site is on the outskirts of the tenement region of the upper west side. It commands good transportation facilities and is within six blocks of the most densely crowded tenement block in the whole city. The following statement will give some idea of the arrangement of these buildings and of the methods adopted in their management:

"The buildings contain in all three hundred and seventy-three

apartments, four stores and an office. Seventy-four apartments are of two rooms, two hundred and thirty-six of three rooms, sixty-one of four rooms and two of five rooms. Every apartment is a complete home in itself, has an abundance of light and air, with thorough ventilation, and with partitions between the different dwellings deafened. Each apartment has its own water-closet, well ventilated and with water supply from tank; stationary wash-tubs and sink of large size; hot water supply from a central boiler system; gas fixtures and gas attachment to stove or range; closets or wardrobes and dresser, and mantel shelves. Dust chutes have been placed on each floor; a number of spray baths, free for the use of tenants, on the first story; and in the basement, laundries with set tubs to which hot and cold water are supplied, and steam-heated drying chambers, also free for tenants, and wood and coal closet and storage-rooms. Staircases and stair walls are entirely fire-proof, as are likewise the walls of the first story and the dividing walls between each group of apartments. Halls and stairways are well lighted and steam-heated.

"The best sanitary principles have been considered in the construction of these city homes. The use of good materials; a perfect system of drainage; abundance of light, air and water; avoidance of dark rooms and passages; wide, clean and airy halls and stairways, make them healthy, comfortable and desirable for families who wish to live privately and respectably at moderate rents.

"The comfort and welfare of tenants are sought by providing a thoroughly competent management. It is believed that the disagreeable features of ordinary tenement life will through this means be avoided. A few general rules have been established for the good of all. Applicants for apartments must furnish at least two satisfactory references, as well as evidence that they have been accustomed to pay rents regularly.

"This group is divided into nine buildings. One of the buildings, comprising about forty apartments, was thrown open for occupancy on February 15 last; another, about March 1; another about March 15; two more about April 1, and the remainder about April 10. The builders did not fully complete their work until April 23. On April 30, two hundred and seventy of the three hundred and seventy-three apartments and three stores had been let—a remarkable showing considering that the tenants are selected under strict rules as to reference and previous rent paying, enjoined by the management. The total possible rental of occupied apartments up to April 30 last was \$3638.66, and of this amount \$3625.16 was paid, leaving but \$13.50 of arrears. Of this latter sum, \$3 were

irrecoverable arrears, the balance, \$10.50, representing simply a failure to pay in advance. Rents are collected weekly, in advance, collection being made in the apartments by a woman rent-collector and her assistant. Up to April 30, there had been four changes of tenancy; one was brought about by the death of the tenant's wife, another by removal from the city, a third by a notice to quit and the fourth by voluntary removal. All of the apartments were immediately re-let.

"The rentals charged are less per square foot than are asked, but without the same conveniences and sanitary advantages, in the adjoining neighborhood, and slightly lower than the rates obtaining on Amsterdam avenue in the immediate vicinity. The two-room and five-room apartments are fully let, and a waiting list is on file. All but ten of the four-room apartments have been rented. Ninety-three of the one hundred and three unoccupied apartments are of three rooms, but this is not remarkable, considering the very large proportion of this size. Applications are being steadily received, and undoubtedly in a short space of time the buildings will be full.

"The expenses of management have not exceeded original calculations, so that when apartments are fully occupied, the returns will be sufficient to pay a five per cent dividend upon the capital cost and to provide a safe surplus."

A suburban colony of homes is being developed on the vast estate known as Homewood in the Thirtieth ward of the borough of Brooklyn. Here a tract comprising five hundred and thirty city lots is owned, and the following statement from the report gives an idea of the nature and extent of the work planned for and partially constructed in that section:

"A survey has been made, streets and an avenue cut through and graded, and sewers, water and gas fully laid. The work of macadamizing the streets, laying gutters, curbs and sidewalks, and planting trees and hedges, is now proceeding. When completed, Homewood will be an ideal suburban village.

"Homewood enjoys excellent transportation facilities, two lines of trolley cars running directly to Park Row, Manhattan. The fare is five cents. Homewood maintains a sewerage plant constructed on Colonel Waring's system of sewage disposal by bacterial oxidation, so that cesspools, the bugbear and danger of suburban residence, have been dispensed with.

"Sixty-five cottages have been erected, fifty-four of which have been sold to purchasers on the twenty-year instalment plan, with life insurance. These houses have been built by the Sturgis and

Hill Company, from designs prepared by Mr. Percy Griffin. They are either entirely of brick, or first-story brick and second story stucco and half timber, or entirely of stucco. There are no frame buildings. The style of architecture is exceedingly tasteful, unified without being uniform. A well-known real estate editor has described Homewood as a Shakespearean village. The aptness of his characterization, technically considered, is complete. The architect and the builders deserve recognition for their good work.

"The company has made such favorable contracts, that houses can be profitably erected and sold for less than ordinary rates. Current inquiry and demand seem to indicate that Homewood is likely to develop rapidly and to yield the company substantial returns.

"The average price of cottages already sold is \$3100. This includes cost of land, buildings, grading, paving, curbing, macadamizing, sewers and all improvements. The average monthly instalment paid by purchasers is a little over \$25. This sum includes paying back the principal in twenty years, with interest at six per cent upon deferred payments, and the premium on a life insurance policy. Up to April 30 last, one hundred and twenty of the five hundred and thirty lots had been built upon. The four hundred and ten lots which remain cost the company about two-thirds the price at which fairly well situated property in the neighborhood, without improvements, is now being sold."

The company owns other tracts of land which will be improved in time as its business expands and the demand seems to warrant. Many persons interested in similar work are watching this experiment, conducted as it is under the skilled supervision of Dr. E. R. L. Gould, the president of the company, in the hopes that it will prove a model that can be easily adapted to local conditions elsewhere than in New York City.

**Municipal and County Charities in the United States.**—The recent quarter-centennial meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, which was held in New York City in May, one of the sections of which Mr. Homer Folks, Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York, was chairman, presented a report on "Municipal and County Charities (including Public Outdoor Relief)."<sup>\*</sup> In addition to a general statement concerning recent experience in dealing with the problems of charity in large cities, the report contains an account of the charitable activities of the seventy-three cities in the United States which, according to the census of 1890, each had a population of more than 40,000. These reports from the various cities contain many items of

<sup>\*</sup> Pp. 79. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 1898.

general interest concerning both the methods of administration and the actual outlay for some of the more important items of expenditure.

In the general report Mr. Folks has devoted himself very largely to municipal charities, although three topics were assigned to the committee, namely, municipal charities, county charities and public outdoor relief. The restriction of the topic was due to the fact that in the past the conference has devoted considerable attention and published many valuable papers on public outdoor relief and on county charities, while the administration of charity in the larger cities has been generally treated with less fullness. Mr. Folks says, "So far as charity has become a distinctly municipal undertaking, it has shared the general character of the administration of the municipality. The cities that have been notorious for inefficiency and corruption have had corrupt and inefficient departments of charities, and untold sufferings have thus been inflicted upon the recipients of so-called public charity, which, in some cases, might more truly have been called public cruelty."

Then follows some reference to a few of the more notable public scandals in the administration of charities, and continuing Mr. Folks adds: "But, if municipal charities have shared in the evils of our cities, they also share in that wonderful revival of interest in city government which we have witnessed in the last few years. In several cities this has passed beyond the realm of discussion, and comprehensive movements for the organization of municipal charities upon a more rational basis have been carried to success."

Speaking of the two recent experiments of special interest, namely, the reorganization of charities in New York and Boston, the following statement is made: "In one respect, at least, there is uniformity in these movements. Everywhere the tendency is toward a differentiation of the different classes cared for at public expense, and the placing of each distinct class under the management of a separate official responsibility. The lack of classification, one of the evils pointed out in 1888, is being corrected. The destitute, the insane and the criminal are the three generally recognized classes of public dependents. During the past three years New York City has made an absolute division of these three classes. In the place of its former Department of Charities and Correction, it has a Department of Public Charities and a Department of Correction, and has turned over its insane to the care of the state. More recently Boston has adopted a somewhat similar plan, but has carried the sub-division still farther. It has five departments—for adult paupers, for destitute children, for the insane, for criminals and a

separate department for investigation, registration, etc. The City Hospital of Boston, it is to be remembered, has long been under an administration entirely separate from that of the almshouse; and they are thoroughly dissociated in the public mind. Chicago, or rather Cook County, as we have already seen, has its almshouse, insane asylum and county hospital under one management, and, as if that were not bad enough, asks the same Board of Commissioners to build roads and bridges and to perform other important duties.

"As to what constitutes the most efficient governing authority of a charities department, there are two distinct tendencies—one looking toward administration by a board of unpaid trustees, from five to nine in number, similar to boards of trustees of state institutions; the other looking toward a concentration of responsibility in the hands of one, or at most three salaried commissioners, bringing this department into line with most other city departments. Philadelphia with its board of five unpaid commissioners, Boston with its three boards each of seven unpaid trustees, Baltimore with its newly authorized board of nine unpaid supervisors of charities and San Francisco with its unpaid health department in charge of its charities, have chosen the former of these two plans. New York with its three salaried commissioners with separate and sharply defined administrative jurisdiction in different boroughs, St. Louis with its four charitable institutions under the control of a salaried health commissioner and Cleveland with its salaried director of charities and correction, have chosen the latter plan.

"Each of the two plans has its evident advantages and its peculiar dangers. Either plan will secure good results if administered by persons of character and intelligence who have knowledge of, and interest in the subject of charity. Either plan will fail miserably in the hands of incompetent, indifferent or dishonest administrators. The merit of either plan lies largely in its influence upon the character of the appointments that are likely to be made under it.

"One very important advantage claimed for the unpaid board of trustees is that it lessens the probability of partisan appointments. If the unpaid board were certain to accomplish this result, there could be no doubt as to its desirability. Experience has shown, however, that unpaid boards have not always proved a sure means of escape from the spoils system. There have been unpaid boards of trustees that there were neither wise, high-minded nor non-partisan. In fact, of all administrations, that of an unpaid committee or board composed of party workers whose political service had to receive some slight recognition, is the weakest, flabbiest and least

effective. Accepting the positions for the patronage and public notice involved, such appointees, receiving no salary, do not often feel called upon to give much service in return.

"But, while the unpaid board does not offer a sure means of escape from politics, it probably does make good appointments more probable. A few administrations are so hopelessly political that they will appoint none but party workers even to unpaid places. A few mayors there are (may their tribe increase!) who will appoint the best men to either unpaid or paid positions. Between these two extremes there are doubtless many appointing powers who would feel that they could safely appoint persons of special fitness to unpaid positions, but who would fear that they could not make a satisfactory explanation to the party leaders if the positions carried salaries. Another advantage of the unpaid board is its presumably wider knowledge and greater wisdom in passing upon the delicate and complicated questions involved in the administration of charity.

"The dangers of the unpaid board arise from a division of responsibility, which too frequently leads to inaction or to hesitation and half-way measures. There is also a very real danger of placing in the hands of volunteers duties more arduous and exacting than they can be expected to perform for any considerable period of time.

"The advantages of concentrating power and responsibility in the hands of one salaried official are evidently promptness and the opportunity for executive ability to reap its full fruition without let or hindrance. The plan is in line with the general system of municipal government in this country, so far as we have any system, though directly opposed to that of Great Britain and the Continental cities. In our cities we have freely abolished boards and committees, have curtailed the powers of boards of aldermen and common councils as to appointment and confirmation of heads of departments, and have concentrated responsibility in the hands of a mayor and his appointees. It may be a mistake; but it has been our general policy up to this time. It frankly accepts the risks of partisan appointments, and relies for its ultimate success upon the virtue of holding the one responsible official face to face with his responsibility from day to day, week to week and month to month.

"The practical operations of the plan adopted by New York in 1895, and of that adopted by Boston in 1897, will be watched with very great interest, and may afford data for a more definite conclusion than can now be reached as to their comparative merits. For the present we may profitably withhold decision, and each use his best efforts to make the system under which he finds himself working bear its best fruits.

"It would be easy, however, to lay too much emphasis upon the particular form of organization of the department and too little upon the extent of public interest in its work. The recent reorganizations in Boston and New York have led to many desirable results; but is this not due in some measure to an increased public interest aroused in the process of securing the legislative reforms and resulting in a more general willingness to give personal service to public institutions? In fact, almost any change that is brought about by an enlightened public sentiment breaking through the force of tradition and precedent, is bound to be beneficial. Whatever makes the community better informed about a municipal department makes that community more exacting in its demands and more willing to approve liberal expenditures. However much municipal charities have suffered from poor organization, from the commingling of diverse and unrelated interests, they have suffered most of all from lack of a widespread, intelligent, earnest, persistent, wisely directed public sentiment."

**Convict Labor and Employment of Foreigners.**—The General Court of Massachusetts at its session in 1897, passed an order directing the General Superintendent of Prisons to examine the various methods of employing prisoners on public works and lands, and to submit a special report on this subject to the General Court of 1898. This report, which has just been published under the title of "*Special Report of the General Superintendent of Prisons in Massachusetts upon the Various Methods of Employing Prisoners on Public Works and Lands*,"\* makes just the sort of pamphlet that students of this subject will want to consult in order to find in brief space a general summary of what has been done in this line. Mr. F. G. Pettigrove, the General Superintendent of Prisons, has not attempted an exhaustive inquiry, but has succeeded in furnishing a very readable document. He refers to other sources of information on this subject, namely, the Second Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, issued in 1897, and more especially a document relating to road work done by convicts, which was issued by the United States Department of Agriculture under the title of "*Notes on the Employment of Convicts in Connection with Road Building*," prepared in 1895 by General Roy Stone.

Mr. Pettigrove's report contains several fine illustrations, and discusses convict work under three heads: (1) Farming; (2) Road Work, and (3) Public Works in General. In the first section particular attention is given to the state of affairs in North Carolina, where, under specially favorable conditions, agricultural employ-

\* 1898. Boston. Pp. 30.



ment can be relied upon to furnish full occupation for convicts; but, of course, for only part of the year. The work in Georgia is also discussed and the reasons for the proposed change in the system of hiring out convicts, as has been suggested by the Governor of Georgia. The most successful road work seems to have been done in North Carolina, and the most extensive employment of convicts on public works in general, in foreign countries. The difficulties in applying any of these suggestions to certain of the Northern States, especially in Massachusetts, are discussed at some length, and the opinion of the General Superintendent seems to be that, so far as Massachusetts is concerned, the most advisable steps would be in the direction of preparing the material for road-building and in reclaiming waste lands. He also discusses the question of building a ship canal across Cape Cod, which proposition meets with his approval.

**The Pulpit and Social Problems.**—This is the title of a new publication devoted to social and economic questions, especially in their ethical relations. It is a monthly magazine published by Rev. J. E. Scott, 14 Grant avenue, San Francisco, Cal. The first number, bearing the date March 15, 1898, contains articles by Professor George D. Herron, Professor Edward A. Ross, Dr. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, President R. Benjamin Andrews, and other well-known writers.

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THE WAR AS A SUGGESTION OF MANIFEST  
DESTINY.

The past few months have witnessed one of the most remarkable developments of public opinion ever observed in this or any other country. A year ago we wanted no colonies, no alliances, no European neighbors, no army and not much navy. Our relations with foreign nations were to be of the simplest. Our rôle in the old world was to be *nil*, and in the rest of the new world that of the dog in the manger. The Monroe Doctrine was construed as requiring no constructive action on our part and no positive obligations toward the civilized world. The Washington Doctrine was frankly interpreted to mean national isolation. Our position on these points might be questionable, but it was not equivocal. We at least knew our own minds.

To-day every one of these principles is challenged, if not definitely rejected. Proposals to enter into alliance with Great Britain, to annex Porto Rico and the Philippines, and to assume responsibilities for Cuba which may lead to annexation are seriously discussed and entertained with surprising favor. Plans for enlarging our navy far beyond anything previously contemplated and which can have no

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possible influence upon the decision of the present struggle, are considered favorably and greeted with general acclaim. Most striking of all, perhaps, is the way in which we have forgotten what we set out to accomplish and have become engrossed in new interests. Starving *reconcentrados* and struggling Cubans are crowded quite into the background of our imagination to make room for our own larger prospects and new ambitions.

Is this change an accident, or is it the inevitable consequence of our undertaking? If the latter, we certainly have had a most naïve unconsciousness of what war involves. We started to free a weak and oppressed people whose sufferings near our borders attracted our attention and appealed to our sympathies. We expected when this was done to go about our business as though nothing had happened. We thought nothing of Porto Rico or the Philippines, nothing of England or France, nothing of Germany and her craving for colonies and coaling stations. Least of all did we anticipate that the war would react upon our own thought and feeling in a way to modify our conscious national ideals. The rapidity with which these great questions have been forced upon the national mind has been bewildering, and our instinctive response must be regarded as highly significant of national character.

It is too early as I write to predict the result of the war except in the most general terms. It seems pretty plain, however, that Spain will lose all or most of her colonies and that the United States will get one or more of them as a permanent possession. The acquisition of Porto Rico seems quite inevitable and meets with little opposition. The acquisition of the Philippines will be a far more difficult and questionable proceeding, but on the other hand it will probably be less difficult than any other disposition we could make of them. Hard as it will be to keep them, it looks as if it would be still harder to satisfactorily give them away. Cuba will have a chance to be free if she has it in her to be



so, but failing that, we can neither leave her in anarchy nor resign her to any other power. With the prospect of invasion by American capital and American population her acquisition is as good as assured. We seem likely within a twelvemonth to have changed our ideal of isolation for that of empire and to have gone a long way toward its realization. If it be true that nature makes no leaps, knows no abrupt transitions, how are we to account for so startling a transformation?

The explanation, as in all such cases, is to be found in forces that have been slowly accumulating and have waited for the proper combination of circumstances to reveal their existence and their power. We have not suddenly changed our ideals; we have been slowly developing them for a century and have suddenly discovered their application to a new situation. The war is a revelation rather than a revolution. A careful examination of the course of events will convince us that this war is not accidental or capricious, scarcely even voluntary, but that it is the natural outcome of forces constantly at work in the race and exceptionally characteristic of the American people. I am inclined to believe that we have not yet become conscious of the true nature and scope of these forces and that they have other surprises in store for us. In attempting a partial analysis of the present situation I wish it clearly understood that I am making no plea for anything. A scientist *as such* has no right to be sorry or glad of anything. His business is to observe phenomena and to study cause and effect. I do not flatter myself that I am uninfluenced by my sympathies which are quite definite, but I am doing my best to be so. If any one finds in these pages either warning or congratulation he must read it between the lines.

Washington's advice so often quoted was not an expression of the American temper, but a warning against it. If he found it necessary to urge a people, weak and scattered and poor, protected by nature from attack and endowed

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with boundless resources to occupy their energy, to avoid entanglements with more powerful nations when they had but just won a costly independence, it was because he believed them possessed of a redundant vitality which made them fundamentally and irrepressibly aggressive. To believe that he expected to modify this character, to make the people conservative and contented, would be a poor compliment to his sagacity. But he pointed to the West rather than the East as the direction in which this surplus energy could safely spend itself. That we have so far followed the advice was indeed almost inevitable. Our opportunities were so great, our earlier isolation so complete, our home problems so absorbing that even our ambition was temporarily satisfied. Our conservatism and content has been much like that of the boy whose appetite is temporarily satisfied while he is masticating a very large mouthful.

It is interesting to note the successive mouthfuls we have taken. In 1803 we could hardly be said to be in need of land, but by the purchase of Louisiana in that year we virtually doubled our national domain, and Florida was acquired soon after. These purchases, it may be said, furthered our national isolation by removing the possibility of disputes with those powers with whom we had been warned not to entangle ourselves. This may be made to seem, therefore, a conservative move. This was a plausible pretext and something of a real reason. But suppose Louisiana had belonged to the Aztecs, what would have been its fate? The next step in our territorial expansion relieves us of the necessity of speculating on this point. Hardly a generation passed before we annexed another empire, this time with no purpose of self-defence, disguising our ambitious commercial schemes under pretexts that are now forgotten. It was denounced as an unrighteous aggression, and according to the ethical code that governs individual relations and which for lack of a better term we hesitatingly apply to

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national affairs, it was so. Whether this standard is adequate or not may best be determined by looking at the results.

We are told that America stands at the parting of the ways; that we have a compact and isolated territory, a conservative tradition and a homogeneous people and that a misstep now will cost us all these advantages. The fact is that we have stood at the parting of the ways again and again; that the same alternatives have always been before us and that we have never hesitated to decide as we seem to be deciding now. We never have had so unified a territory or so homogeneous a people as at the beginning of this century. Yet even then the differences between Massachusetts and South Carolina in all that influences the development of civilization were greater than have ever existed in any European state. We had the single advantage of a common language and the preponderance of a common stock. This unity was sacrificed by the purchase of Louisiana, but differences of language, religion and race character which might well have seemed ominous and have never disappeared, did not deter from the annexation. The territory indeed was adjacent and seems now to be naturally united, but to a people who felt it difficult to hold on to the territories beyond the Cumberland Gap this natural unity may well have been less evident. For all that they did not hesitate.

The annexation of the Pacific coast was a far more radical departure. The people were thoroughly alien in speech and character. The territory was separated from ours by barriers more insurmountable than that which separates us from Europe. With all our efforts to unite these two sections it still takes as long to go from New York to San Francisco as to Liverpool, and the expense of communication and transportation is and must remain far greater. And these two regions are not united by a continuous population, but separated by an eternal desert. The only unity

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we acquired by this acquisition was a unity of color on the map between the two blue oceans.

This diversity is of course giving way to a larger unity. Unity of language is coming by education, unity of race by assimilation, or as regards the Spanish blood at least, by extermination, a process which, by the way, nature has not yet discarded. I am not criticising our past action or the reverse. I only note that we have never yet been deterred by these considerations, and it is not strange if they fail to deter us now.

Before inquiring more definitely what the present complication is likely to bring us to, we must look briefly at another side of our national development. While we have been growing large we have been growing rich, not by plunder, as did Spain in the sixteenth century, but by a production of wealth that has no precedent in history. Stimulated by extraordinary opportunities, we have developed a business temper which is impossible in a nation which is chiefly interested in guarding its frontiers. Although the reproach is continually heard, especially in France, that we are worshipers of the almighty dollar and that "the smoke of our factories darkens the sun of European civilization," I am convinced that neither we nor our critics understand how different is the economic temper of America from that of Continental Europe. Energy and foresight, audacity of conception and skill to organize great forces and execute great plans, these have become national characteristics and inevitably, also, national ideals. How instinctively American respect for shrewdness and enterprise condones gigantic frauds which give evidence of these qualities. It is not that we despise honesty—that is proved by our treatment of horse thieves and burglars—but we admire ability, which is a distinction of our nation and the cause of our success. We may not properly estimate the social value of honesty and enterprise, the static and dynamic factors in social life, but that is another question.

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It follows from the same experience that we have scant respect for the more static property rights based on tradition and inheritance. The validity of such rights we concede, but we do not affirm it as we do that of ownership based on production. Our fortunes are not heirlooms, but personal achievements; our territory was not inherited but appropriated. We have dispossessed a people whose right to the soil was indisputable according to traditional canons, but a right which it would have been ridiculous and impossible to recognize. A people thus educated by contact with intensely dynamic conditions must have its own ethics of ownership, an ethics derived from its own experience and one that justifies its own existence. Despite all concessions the conviction will assert itself that the world belongs to the efficient, a conviction that finds countenance in the fact that it has been nature's working program for the last few million years.

During the last fifty years we have made but one eight million dollar purchase, and this addition has not been important. We have come to regard our boundaries as fixed and to talk of our conservative tradition. The annexation of Hawaii has even been opposed as a violation of that tradition. How deeply we are impressed with our traditional conservatism we are beginning to see. The expansion of our territory and our population could not go farther until our surplus energy had accumulated in sufficient amount to overcome the far greater obstacles which we have next to meet. The ocean was a natural resting place in our advance. But that does not mean that it is a stopping place. It may become so if we meet resistance here which we can not overcome. Perhaps, indeed, we ought to anticipate this opposition and shun these dangers by a wise self-restraint. For they are many and serious, such as we have not met before. Any territories we are now likely to annex are not only separated from us by salt water, but they have a more alien population than any we

have hitherto incorporated and which for climatic reasons we are not likely soon to displace. Above all, this next step will bring us into contact with the great powers and make us a party to their titanic struggle. The prospect is one which may well make us pause.

But will it? What has happened in our century's experience to make us conservative or to lessen our ambitions or our confidence? When we struggled out of the grasp of Europe, a weak and scattered nation, with every consideration of prudence to keep us as far away from Europe as possible, we still were scarce restrained from meddling in her affairs. But a nation of seventy-five millions can not feel like one of three millions, nor a rich nation like one that is poor. Numbers and wealth may lead to arrogance and over-confidence, but that they are a just ground of confidence none will deny. As a prosperous people we may not accurately measure our power, but there is small reason to believe that we shall underestimate it or be timid in our assertion of it. The process by which our population has been selected has been from the first strongly partial to the spirit of restlessness and adventure. Unless I quite mistake the facts, our national experience has not been of a kind to develop within us either the fears or the scruples required to restrain that spirit from a farther aggression which may seem to further our interests to gratify our ambition. Doubtless we shall use our available sagacity in determining manner and time and place, and there will certainly be occasion enough for its exercise, but our purpose will not change. We want the earth,—not consciously as a formulated program, but instinctively, with a desire that is too deep for consciousness, too constant and too regular ever to be questioned or thought of.

When this national temper is thus regarded in its simplest form it is at once seen to be no peculiarity of ourselves. What nation does not want the earth? There are plenty of nations that have no aspirations to world dominion simply

because they have not the slightest hope of attaining it, and nations, like children, get over crying for the moon. Conscious desire must always be limited to the seemingly possible, but potential desire is not. We desire the next things and after those, again the next things, and so on. This may be a truism, but its consequences are not.

This universal desire is only the higher psychic phase of a still more fundamental and universal fact, the fact of growth. I need not attempt to establish here the well-known biological principle that growth is a necessary consequence of life and without it life cannot possibly persist. The rule has no exceptions, but its application to the higher social aggregates is expressed in general aphorisms which weakly impress the imagination. But it is absolutely and unqualifiedly true. There is not a people living which would not, if pressure were removed, populate the earth. There is not a nation in existence which under like conditions would not acquire universal dominion. And each would do so because it could not do otherwise, because it has no sufficient knowledge or voluntary control of its own vital forces to prevent their working out their natural result.

Here, as everywhere, growth means conflict sooner or later. The growing aggregates eventually touch, then crowd, and the strong displace the weak. The incidents of the struggle change, its essence never. Treaties of peace may rule out slugging, but they never stop the struggle. All means are used, all advantages count. By subtle encroachments or violent shock strength displaces weakness without itself knowing why. It may be long before the widening boundaries touch, before the pressure becomes uncomfortable enough to become conscious, but the time comes. And then despite all accidents and all precautions, the higher vitality triumphs. It may be a sad fact, but there is no means known by which weakness and inefficiency can inherit the earth. This may or may not be

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congenial to our moral sense. I have no comment to make on the ethics of evolution.

It is worth while for us occasionally to approach the consideration of national affairs with a consciousness of these great principles which we all accept, but of which in practical connections we make surprisingly little use. If these things are true the ideal of national isolation is a Utopia. It may still as a wholesome delusion render us valuable service, but no such consideration can give it standing as a ground for forecasting the future. It may be that our growth will not be political, that the struggle will be bloodless, but if so it will be because we find that other means are more efficient, not because they are more merciful. The people that sacrifices one jot of efficiency does so at the peril of its existence, and its ill-considered mercy perishes with it. Only the mercy that translates itself into efficiency will or can survive. Into this world struggle the American people is crowded by an inner power of growth which has no equal or precedent. The cry that we should keep out of the conflict is utterly fatuous. Long as it has taken us to grow up against the old world on either side, we have been crowding against it for years. Uneasiness, discomfort and alarm are passing over into that instinctive hostility which always announces the sense of danger and failure in a losing struggle. Americans have expressed a childlike wonder that France, with her republican government, should have manifested such sympathy for Spain in the present struggle. The nations of the Continent care nothing for Spain and would not shed a tear at her funeral, but everybody who knows them knows that though they court our tourists and envy our enterprise, they hate us, hate us as they have hated the English for a century, and for precisely the same reason. We are selfish and grasping. Shades of Napoleon and Bismarck! How doth the pot call the kettle black! No, the trouble is not that we want the earth, but that we are getting it, and we must pay the penalty of our success.

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They have diagnosed the present symptoms far better than we. They know that whether our alleged philanthropy is sincere or not it would have made no war had it not been backed by a consciousness of power nothing loath to express itself and a disposition to declare traditional rights invalidated by disuse. In a conflict involving such principles they cannot but feel concerned.

How far can we anticipate the course and the outcome of this irrepressible conflict? A few things are clear.

The world is roughly divided into two parts distinguished by different capacities for development. They are usually known as civilized and uncivilized, but such a classification is justly offensive to the sensibilities of nations like those of South America which must unquestionably fall into the less favored class. The difference is rather one of independence, the weaker nations being unable to exist as such save by the sufferance or the disagreements of the more powerful ones. The first result of the great struggle must necessarily be the subjection of the dependent to the independent world. The most of this is already accomplished. In the old world everything is appropriated except China, whose fate is apparently soon to be determined. South America and Mexico are still nominally independent, but it is incredible that they should remain so. The Monroe Doctrine is an incipient protectorate which must become more definite and positive if it is to prevent their subjection to other powers. It is the belief of intelligent Germans everywhere that their government confidently expects to secure in South America not only an outlet for the overflowing German population, but an extension of the German state. That purpose will find its pretext in the inability of these governments to maintain order and guarantee security, and American sagacity will forestall it by increasing its influence over them and its responsibility for their action. It is probable that a generation more will see the entire world under the jurisdiction or within the "sphere of

influence" of half a dozen powers who will continue the struggle for race supremacy with increasing definiteness and determination.

These powers again fall into groups, the Romance, the Germanic, and the Slavic, united by kinship and likely to be consolidated by similarity of circumstance.

The Romance peoples are emotional and imaginative, the proud possessors of a culture that has ripened into the æsthetic stage. But they are self-centred and self-complacent, with little aptitude for those pursuits which are the source of modern progress and power. Their slackened advance has everywhere changed to a halt or passed into avowed retreat. The status of Spain will not be questioned. Despite the rapacity of her officials and the persistence of her beggars, Spanish appreciation of wealth has never begotten a genius for its creation. The nation is primarily influenced by the spectacular side of life. In a moment of supreme crisis she devotes to the prosecution of the war the proceeds of a patriotic bull-fight. A Berlin paper prints the following apropos of the sinking of the "Merrimac" in Santiago harbor:

"Both capitals are celebrating the defeat of the enemy ; New York in Yankee fashion, by a confident stock exchange ; Madrid in southern emotional style, by shouting and enthusiastic jubilation."

The contrast is significant of far-reaching differences of character. There is much that is attractive in the light and gay temperament, with its incapacity for seriousness, but with characteristic ruthlessness nature sacrifices the picturesqueness to the practical in civilization.

If Italy is better off than Spain it is because she is farther away from her former greatness and has no remnants of empire to lose. Her position, too, has brought her under the tutelage of more virile nations and given her some infusion of their vigor. But those who know Italy intimately will doubt if she is better off. Caught by the

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glamor of the Triple Alliance, she has readily sacrificed the substance of power for its appearance. Within a generation, without having met a serious emergency or acquired a substantial advantage, she has increased her debt from \$625,000,000 to \$2,500,000,000. A hundred thousand of her people are said to go mad from hunger every year. And all for what? For that same intangible "national honor," that instinct of stage decorum which infallibly betrays a spectacular people, a people that can not distinguish between shadows and facts.

Despite all contradictions, the same is also true of France. She is a dwindling power because she is an emotional and appearance-loving power. Said a shrewd critic of European politics in reference to a certain complication: "It will be said that France has no interests here. True, but she has susceptibilities." It is the same story. It needs no prophet to foretell the end of the man or nation whose susceptibilities are not the servants of his interests. But prophecy is already passing into fulfillment. Her people, alone among the great nations of Europe, neither emigrate nor multiply at home. Her industry is timid and unprogressive. Her merchant marine has declined in two years 14 per cent in the number of ships and 28 per cent in tonnage, while that of foreign nations entering her ports, already vastly superior to her own, has increased 18 and 117 per cent respectively. It helps the matter but little that in 1898 she was at work upon ninety-one warships with a tonnage almost equal to that of her entire merchant marine. Her colonial empire, a monument to her susceptibilities, burdens rather than enriches her, despite her monopoly of its markets. Her desperate attack upon the Jews becomes intelligible when we are told that a people constituting one five-hundredth of her population owns one-fourth of her active capital, and an anti-Semite leader openly defends the attack on the ground that Frenchmen cannot compete with Jews. Even the physique of the race as

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revealed by the careful annual measurements of her recruits is said to be slightly but continually deteriorating. I only quote the opinion of competent and sympathetic critics when I say that the Romance civilization, the ripest product of human development, is slowly but surely losing ground, and that no human power can arrest its dissolution.

In the Germanic group there is much of crudity, more than we are willing to confess, but there is virility, energy and growth. There is much that needs changing, but there is much power of change. I need not particularize on a point which is incontestable and of which we are sufficiently conscious. These nations are gaining as certainly as the others are losing. The surplus of their population is establishing itself in every unoccupied part of the habitable globe. In this group is to be found the only nation which owes the world nothing and the world is said to owe her thirty thousand millions of dollars. If there is any doubt, too, as to where industrial leadership has its headquarters it is at least somewhere in this group. Of the Slavic group we can say little because as yet there is little to say. The Slavs are an unknown quantity, but capable apparently of prodigious but slow expansion. As yet they have not demonstrated their capacity to meet the Germanic peoples on the basis of industrial competition where the question of supremacy must eventually be decided, but they may be able to do so.

Within two centuries, perhaps in one, the Romance peoples will be in vassalage, and Germany, without a foot of foreign territory on which white men can thrive, will have been reduced to insignificance by the increase of peoples who have room in which to grow. Slav and Saxon, it narrows down to these, each of them with room for five hundred millions. Which will rule the world? The Slav is as yet far below the Saxon in industrial efficiency, in everything that can make for success in the struggle, unless it be in his willingness to devote all his energies to national

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aggrandizement. His territory is compact and unified, but one in which development must be slow and which is ill-adapted to the production of a varied civilization. The Saxon has an ideal territory for the development of a world civilization, but one having little natural unity. Are the *psychic* bonds, the consciousness of kinship and the intellectual perception of interest strong enough to hold the race together? If so, its supremacy is assured by the nature and distribution of its territory, the character of its people and their enormous start in economic and intellectual development. If not, their fate, too, is vassalage, and America is not exempt.

The present crisis derives its chief significance, therefore, from its bearing on the problem of race cohesion, a bearing which is far greater than is ordinarily understood. The outburst of sympathy which has suddenly thrown England and America into each other's arms is in itself of small account. What will be the drift of our national interest in the near future?

It may be safely assumed that the irrepressible expansion of American energy and enterprise will continue for a long time to come. But for obvious reasons it cannot continue to assume the form of territorial extension. We have tackled about the only nation in the world from which we can obtain territory in the Eastern hemisphere. Whether we annex the Philippines or not we shall do very little more annexing, for the world is substantially appropriated. Our expansion must be a commercial expansion, and as a late comer we must trade by sufferance in other people's preserves. The whole expanding energy of our national life will assert itself in a demand for the two conditions necessary to its farther growth, access and order. Political and military control of the dependent part of the world will more and more be subordinated to these ends which alone can justify them to the exacting arbiter of life.

If we turn again to the three groups of powers with whom

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we have to do we find the sharpest line drawn between them in regard to this point, which is of supreme importance to us. The Romance nations, with a consciousness of their economic weakness, deny the world free access to their possessions. Their colonies languish under their inaptitude and are largely lost to the world with no corresponding gain to them. In the weaker members of the group there is not even the capacity to maintain order, the most fundamental condition of economic prosperity.

For different reasons the third group adopts a similar policy. Its economic weakness may be that of undevelopment rather than that of decadence, but for the present the result is the same. It will be apparent, too, that this condition must long continue. Political, geographical, physical and ethnic conditions all point to a slow development. Indeed if the Anglo-Saxon does not exhaust his own inner capacity for growth, it is difficult to see how the Slav is ever to catch up with him. And so long as he is industrially the weaker he will not welcome equal competition. To stake everything on an unqualified industrial struggle will not be good strategy. He will instinctively resort to those grosser weapons to which a highly organized industrial state becomes increasingly sensitive, and which tend to perpetuate that lower culture with which they are more compatible.

In broad contrast with these policies stands that of the Anglo-Saxon world. To this group of nations alone belongs the honor of having mastered the problem of industrial order. There is order in Russia, but it is not industrial. It is repressive and negative, one that substitutes deterrent certainties for deterrent risks. Ordered liberty is an Anglo-Saxon achievement. If England gets rich out of her colonies it is because she makes them rich enough to be good customers. Subordinating all else to her industrial interests, her expansion has been everywhere constructive, creative, a triumph of cosmos over chaos. Were this her only

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service to the world it would interest all those whose vitality makes them heirs of the future in the maintenance of her policy.

But this is not all. She alone among these nations has adopted the policy of the open door. This is a proof, not of her generosity but of her power. She welcomes all because she fears none. Perhaps this will not always continue. There is reason to apprehend that if American development seriously outstrips that of important parts of the British Empire the instinct of self-protection will conspire with the need of internal unification to close the British Empire against the new rival. But until this happens every blow at this order-creating power is a blow at the most vital American interests. And if the door should be closed those same interests will demand that we be on the inside. The Anglo-Saxon world is worth more than all the rest. The pressure of interest, but slightly felt as yet, but now rapidly increasing, is wholly unequivocal. Those who imagine that the American people will find their chief amusement in the future in "twisting the lion's tail" must have a poor opinion of their business sagacity.

I have said nothing of sentiment as affecting this relation, because it is a characteristic of these peoples and the secret of their success that they subordinate sentiment to interest. But when sentiment coincides with interest it is a force not to be despised. The unity of race, which is closer than that of any other people, is reinforced by unity of religion, language, social and political ideals. The burst of patriotic enthusiasm which followed the Venezuelan proclamation was met at the very outset by a revolt of our deeper sympathies as unmistakable as it was unprecedented, while England's moderation in dealing with what she regarded as an unwarrantable and outrageous interference has not been without effect on the most incorrigible American chauvinists. The spontaneous outburst of sympathy in the present crisis is as widespread and sincere as was ever

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witnessed between two independent states. The profound feeling that the two nations are joint guardians of a common civilization will not be without influence in uniting them against the advance of the Russian Macedon.

It may be said, and with truth, that these dangers are too remote to be urgent questions in present politics. I will not insist here upon the fact that the race that first shapes its action with reference to the great issue will occupy a position of advantage, or dwell upon the admitted fact that Russia is already so doing. I am not sounding the tocsin, but analyzing actual forces. My point is that considerations like these are already impressing the American imagination and are destined to do so increasingly. While race consciousness is disintegrating polyglot empires like Austria-Hungary it is uniting the Anglo-Saxon peoples. The nation that can give hundreds of millions of dollars and thousands of lives in what it believes to be a humane effort to free an insignificant and inferior people, will not stand unmoved and see the one people to which it is bound by ties of interest and speech and kinship, of religious and political and social ideals, menaced by an alien race.

That the ideal of national isolation is a Utopia is due to no accident of mood or circumstance, but to laws as fundamental as the constitution of protoplasm. We may deprecate the petty politics, the short-sighted sentiment and the unbridled passions which carried us with indecorous haste into a war whose costs we had not counted and whose results we could not foresee. But whence have come this pettiness and indecorum, these bickerings and feuds, this lawlessness and irresponsibility which are the repellent characteristics of American political and private life? From this same isolation and immunity from danger and responsibility. It is a fundamental law of social evolution that pressure from without is necessary to the unification and organization of societies. It was that that united Germany; it was that that first united us. With our growing power

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there has come a dangerous weakening of this sobering sense of danger and outside responsibility. The centrifugal forces have become dangerously strong, and pent-up energies riot in an alarming fermentation. Already a trifling diversion of attention from inner interests that divide us to outer interests that unite us has obliterated old antipathies between North and South and moderated the jealousies between East and West. We are justly distrustful of our present ability to govern dependencies with wisdom and to conduct with discretion the subtle diplomacy which the newer relations require, but how about our potential ability? If there are no resources in our character we have no future, either of growth or maintenance, for in the end the two are synonymous. If we have those resources the coming of new responsibilities will mean the development of character.

The annexation of the Spanish colonies will bring us serious embarrassments and may not be wise. I venture to suggest, however, that its wisdom will not be determined by the simple question of present convenience, but by its reaction upon our national character and our preparation for the serious responsibilities which are in store for us. These I apprehend to consist primarily in an ever stronger and more constructive influence over American affairs, and more generally in increasingly intimate co-operation with Great Britain in the extension of the higher industrial and social order over the world. No nation or combination of nations ever before had the power to do this, but it looks as if the Anglo-Saxon race by concerted action might accomplish it.

It is possible that the proposed annexations would contribute to both these ends. The West Indies are a natural stepping-stone to South America, not simply as a base for improbable military operations, but as a meeting place of the two civilizations which cannot remain distinct. We can not refuse to let England order and organize South

America without becoming responsible for the task ourselves. The interest of the civilized world in industrial order is too great to permit any large concession to our jealousy and our neglect.

The Philippines would hasten that co-operation which Great Britain already desires by revealing the identity of interests which already exists and which would thereby be increased.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that our decision on either of these points will seriously affect the ultimate result. The forces that make our destiny come from deep down in the constitution of things and care little for our yea or nay. The progress of mankind toward aggregation and order and peace is fortunately but little dependent upon our inclination or understanding. Our wisdom must consist in an intelligent adaptation of ourselves to conditions which transcend our power and our intelligence.

H. H. POWERS

*Berlin, June 26, 1898.*

## AUSTRALIAN EXPERIMENTS IN INDUSTRY.

The Australian colonies reached their political majority, or attained self-government about 1850, at a time most favorable for experiment. This can be readily understood after a brief glance at their early history.

Australia was the first country settled by the English after the Revolutionary War. It, together with Canada, the French legacy of 1763, and the struggling settlement at Cape Colony, formed the nucleus of England's second colonial empire, which to-day is known to us as Greater Britain, and far exceeds in scope her earlier one of the eighteenth century.

The seven Australias, or the Australasian colonies, as they are now more properly called, include the two islands of New Zealand, the island of Tasmania, and the continent of Australia, which has been divided into the five immense territories of Queensland, New South Wales, West Australia, Victoria and South Australia.

All but the last two, and New Zealand, were at the outset penal settlements, colonized mainly by convicts transported from England between the years of 1787 and 1841. It was the firm expectation of England that large numbers of free settlers would speedily emigrate to Australia, when once that country was thrown open for occupation, especially as England was considered terribly overcrowded at the time. But events did not substantiate the prediction of the English ministry. Voluntary emigrants did not go, and could not be induced to go to Australia. In 1790 there were but five free settlers found in Botany Bay; in 1820, after thirty-three years of occupation, there were only thirteen hundred men of non-convict origin to twenty-four thousand population, or eighteen convicts to one free man.

This large criminal element necessitated from the start a strong, almost despotic government on the part of the Home

Office. The governor-general of Australia and his staff were generally chosen from the army and navy, and were men long used to military authority. The convicts had to be governed with an unflinching hand to prevent mutiny, which was imminent upon slightest provocation. During servitude convicts were regarded as public property, to be utilized for the good of the community, and were detailed to work under careful surveillance wherever the governor might direct. In common practice, the transports were assigned to road and bridge-making or forest-clearing—such public works as were deemed most serviceable in opening up a new country.

As long as the mass of the population was of convict composition this arbitrary control on the part of the crown was in the main justifiable, though the free settlers writhed under it. England did not confine its bureaucratic method of government to the penal settlements alone. South Australia and New Zealand, which were colonized entirely by free emigrants, were subjected to the same rigid rule. This extreme policy of "maternalism," which England ruthlessly exercised over its infant colonies during the second quarter of the present century, is a most interesting anomaly. It shows, in the first place, that England had learned little or nothing, practically, from its recent unhappy experience in America, but was still bent on enforcing the same policy which George III. had upheld so vigorously, with such havoc to his possessions. It was interesting, too, from a theoretical point of view, because England at that time was advocating the strictest adherence to the "let alone" policy of government—the minimum of state intervention at home—while practicing the maximum of government interference in the Australias.

As long as convict transportation however continued unabated to the colonies, making free settlers loath to emigrate thither from England, no thought of a liberal government in Australia was possible. It was not until the colonists

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had risen with might, and by an heroic struggle of twenty years had compelled England to put an end to convict shipment, that they were in a position to demand a better government. That very movement had served to weld them into a strong nation and to prepare them unconsciously for self-rule. One after another, in swift succession, between the years of 1855 and 1860, the Australias wrested from the mother country the grant of responsible government, subject only to the control of England in commerce and foreign affairs.

The colonies were now of age, and free to act for themselves. Would they revolt from the excessive government manipulation, they had suffered from or not? Would they take a stand for *laissez-faire* or state-activity?

*Laissez-faire* had just achieved its most signal victory in England through the introduction of free trade. The political boon of home rule in Canada and Australia had been won through the carrying out of that same policy. One might naturally expect the Australias to adopt the same in their respective cabinet governments. But they did not. A marked change shortly became noticeable. The separate colonial governments began to take to themselves many new and extensive functions never previously exercised by the state. There seems to have been in this, no conscious imitation of any other nation;—it is questionable whether there was any other country which they could have patterned after at that time—any state that had taken to itself such powers as they now assumed.

The first problem to call forth this activity was the problem of *roads*. Roads in Australia have always been of much greater significance than is the case in most new countries. Take Europe, Asia or Africa for instance and there is found in each a well developed river-system for inland communication. America is particularly fortunate in this respect. The chain of great lakes, together with numerous river systems ramifying in every direction, have been

prime factors in directing and aiding the advance of settlement across our country. But in Australia such a net work of rivers and lakes is wholly lacking. There is one large river, the Murray, with its tributaries, the Darling, Lachlan and Murrumbidgee, but when these have been mentioned, there is little more to be added. There are a few, short, swift rivers running down from the mountains into the Pacific and Indian oceans, but these are so variable in the amount of water discharged as not to be relied upon for constant traffic. Maps show also many rivers in the interior, but these lose themselves in the sand in the dry season and in general are too shallow for extensive use. In a country so poorly supplied with navigable rivers, roads were the first requisite for settlement.

In most of the colonies, the main trunk lines have been built by the state. The country roads are also surveyed and laid out by the state, but are built and repaired by local governing boards. In New South Wales, however, the heavy traffic during the period of gold discovery made better roads imperative. Accordingly, in 1857 the Department of Roads was created and by 1864 all the roads, both main and subordinate, had been placed in the hands of the state. For purposes of maintenance, the whole colony is divided into road districts, each of which is placed under the superintendence of a resident engineer, who also decides upon the appropriation required for each division of the roadway. He is directly responsible to the engineer-in-chief for public works. \*

\*The roads within municipal areas are controlled by city authorities, though some of these have been subsidized by the department. There are also a few road trusts which supervise the expenditure of certain grants for roads in districts of minor importance and control a few roads in the vicinity of Sydney.

1894. "Wealth and Progress of New South Wales."

Roadways in charge of resident engineers . . . . .	33,426
Miles of roadways in charge of road trusts . . . . .	1,705
Miles of roadways within municipalities, subsidized by the department . . . . .	940

Total mileage of roads under control . . . . . 36,071

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The use of roads as the main arteries of traffic has been superseded by the railways which for the most part have followed the direction of the trunk roads, the tendency now being to make the roads act as feeders to the railways by converging outlying traffic toward convenient stations along the line.

*Railway construction* was recognized as the next requisite for the development of Australia. The extraordinary expansion of the grazing industry in the first half of the century, reaching far beyond the settled portions of the colonies into the interior, made more rapid communication with the coast absolutely necessary. In New South Wales and Victoria, railway lines had been surveyed and partly built before 1850. The discovery of gold, however, in 1851 caused such a stampede of workmen for the mines, that the lines could not be completed and opened to traffic until 1854 and 1855. These first railroads had been built by private corporations and it was expected that they would be carried on solely by private enterprise. But the management of the companies did not prove satisfactory. The mining interests demanded better accommodation for their heavy output of gold. The utility of a general railroad system began to be agitated as a most efficient means for developing the interests of all industrial classes. The policy of government railroads was immediately put forward. In 1855, the same year that New South Wales and Victoria were granted responsible government, these two colonies undertook the work of railway extension.

In South Australia, the first government lines were undertaken in 1857, in New Zealand in 1863, Queensland 1864, Tasmania 1868 and West Australia in 1874. In each of these countries, with the exception of Victoria and Queensland, there exist along with the public railways some private lines, but the proportion of the latter is very insignificant, altogether amounting to but 6.6 per cent\* of the total mileage open.

\* Coghlan, "Seven Colonies of Australasia," 1896 p. 160

For the first ten or fifteen years, great difficulties in construction were experienced. The initial cost of building was very heavy; the population was sparse, and the credit of the Australias was so poor abroad, that foreign loans could only be secured, if at all, at a very high rate of interest. However, by 1871 these difficulties were in the main overcome. Since then the progress of railways\* has been rapid and the advisability of government ownership has not been seriously questioned. The charters of the private railway corporations moreover, have generally had *provisos* inserted in them, whereby after a certain date the respective governments can, if so disposed, acquire the lines at a fixed valuation.

The electric *telegraph* was introduced into Australasia almost as early as the railway. Official returns† can be obtained in most of the colonies since 1861, while New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia had lines in operation several years earlier. There is no apparent evidence that the telegraph in Australia has ever been operated by private companies. It has always been a public industry.

Intercolonial communication by telegraph was secured early in the sixties between Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. The next demand was for cable communication between Australia and England. Of the several colonies, South Australia was the most daring in the outlay for this purpose. At an estimated cost of \$1,000,000 it determined to build a transcontinental telegraph to connect Adelaide with the British cable at Port Darwin on the north. This involved great danger as it was

\*Annual average of miles of railway opened:

1854—1861 . . . . .	30 miles
1862—1871 . . . . .	89 miles
1872—1881 . . . . .	439 miles
1882—1895 . . . . .	825 miles

† Coghill, "Seven Colonies of Australasia," 1894, p. 112.

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necessary for the overland line\* to run through the wildest part of the continent, a region that had already proven fatal to numberless explorers of the Stuart company. The report of the survey by Sir Charles Todd, is almost as thrilling as Nansen's account of his Arctic experiences, and the expedition was fraught with nearly as many hardships. For a distance of five hundred miles, a track fifty feet wide had to be cut through a forest, so thorny and so dense, that the advance corps of surveyors had to creep through the tangle of underbrush. The sufferings involved in crossing the arid wastes of the interior are well pictured in the current slang of the country, as "doing a perish."

The work was put through with great expedition—the line, 1975 miles in length, was completed two years after the beginning of the survey, and the first cable communication from England was received June 20, 1872. The estimated cost, however, fell far short of the actual expenditure, which amounted to about \$2,500,000. But brisk traffic at once set in over the line sufficiently justifying the initial outlay.†

The other colonies following the example of South Australia, made rapid progress in the extension of the telegraph, especially during the period from 1871–81.

Taking Australasia as a whole and comparing it with the leading European nations, there is no country in which the development of telegraphic communication has been so rapid and in which it has been utilized by the public to so great an extent. There are only four countries in the world that possess a greater length of line, and only seven in which a larger number of messages are sent. In Australasia, two telegrams, on an average, were sent to each inhabitant during 1896. Nowhere else, except in England, does the

\* "Australian Handbook for 1896," p. 331.

† Boothby, "Statistical Sketch of South Australia," pp. 75–77.

number of messages bear anything approaching the same ratio to the population.\*

The *postal system* was developed at an early date. The first post-office was established by Governor Macquarie in 1810, in the house of the postmaster, who "in consideration of the trouble and expense attendant upon his duty," was allowed to charge a certain amount for every letter he delivered in the settlement of Botany Bay. In 1825, a regular act was passed, authorizing the establishment of post-offices throughout New South Wales—but the extension of the system was very slow. In 1837 the first station was opened in the colony of Victoria, and it was in connection with this that postage stamps were first issued.

The discovery of gold, however, gave a fresh impetus to the development of the postal service. The first annual report, laid before parliament, in 1855, showed there were altogether one hundred and fifty offices in the colony.

In 1894, the mileage was eight times that of 1855, and the number of letters posted, increased thirty-two times, averaging fifty-five letters annually for each individual in New South Wales, a figure which is exceeded by no other European country except England, and none of the other Australias except Victoria and Western Australia.†

\* Coghlan, "Seven Colonies of Australasia," 1896, p. 189.

Country.	Telegraph Lines.	Messages.	Ratio.
United Kingdom . . . . .	35,286 miles.	71,589,064	1.8 No.
France . . . . .	59,693 "	35,490,000	0.9 "
Germany . . . . .	76,777 "	35,324,617	0.7 "
Russia . . . . .	78,367 "	68,027,398	0.7 "
United States . . . . .	189,936 "	66,591,858	1.0 "
Austria-Hungary . . . . .	42,469 "	16,506,881	0.4 "
Australasia . . . . .	46,923 "	8,453,052	2.0 "

† Coghlan, "Wealth and Progress of New South Wales," 1894, p. 741, 745.

"Seven Colonies of Australasia," 1894, p. 182.

1894.	Average No. of Letters.	1894.	Average No. of Letters.
New South Wales . . . . .	55	United Kingdom . . . . .	53
Victoria . . . . .	56	Germany . . . . .	40
Queensland . . . . .	40	Switzerland . . . . .	37
South Australia . . . . .	47	Canada . . . . .	27
Western " . . . . .	62	Austria . . . . .	25
Tasmania . . . . .	36	Netherlands . . . . .	24
New Zealand . . . . .	40	France . . . . .	19
Australasia . . . . .	47	Italy . . . . .	6

The government telegraph systems have long since been amalgamated with the postal departments, resulting in much greater convenience and efficiency to the community. When there is no telegraph office in a locality, a telegram may be posted at any post-office, or merely dropped into a street letter-box, from which it will be mailed to the nearest telegraph station, whence it will be transmitted by wire. There is no more difficulty connected with telegraphing than we experience in sending a special-delivery letter. The telegram is placed in an envelope, on which is endorsed the words "Telegraphic message only," and the requisite number of stamps affixed. If there happens to be no station where the message is addressed it is sent to the nearest telegraph office and thence forwarded by post without additional cost.\* In this way, the administrative machinery of the postal department is made to perform double service.

Within the past fifteen years, the *telephone* has been connected with the postal service. Public exchanges for telephone service are now found in all the large cities and other important centres. When it seems more convenient, the telephone, like the telegraph, has been connected with the railways instead of the post-offices, but in either case† it is wholly within the control of the government.

The telephones were originally introduced into Australia by private companies, and there are many corporations still engaged in the business, but the public telephones are gaining at the expense of the former. Sometimes the colonies encourage private corporations to engage in new enterprises and carry them through the tentative stage, with a view to taking them over finally into their own hands. This was done by Victoria in the telephone business, which was not bought up by the government until 1887.

Another appendage of the postal department is the savings

\* "Australian Handbook for 1896," p. 230.

† "Victorian Year Book," 1892, Pt. 2, p. 117. Coghlan, "Seven Colonies," 1896, p. 192.

banks. The savings-banks, since their introduction in Australia, have been well patronized and prosperous.\*

There are two classes of these banks, but both are more or less under government control. The general savings banks are administered by trustees or commissioners nominated by the government. These in New South Wales date from 1832 and in South Australia from 1848. In the latter, trustee institutions are the only ones that have been established.

About 1865, however, a new departure was made in the introduction of postal-banks. † These are worked in conjunction with the post-office, and consequently are directly administered by the state. The simplicity of their working is admirable. Take New Zealand as an example. Would-be depositors may start a bank account upon depositing a shilling. The department issues postal cards on which are to be pasted penny stamps to the number of twelve. When this number is filled, the card is signed with the name and address of the depositor, and mailed to the nearest post-office, where it is placed to his credit. The habits of thrift inculcated by this means are especially noteworthy. The returns of the banks show an enormous development since 1861. Then the depositors represented only 2 per cent of the population, while in 1895 the average had risen to 21 per cent. During the severe crisis of 1893, these savings banks passed through the panic unscathed, the only result being a marked increase in deposits, while those of the ordinary banks suffered heavy diminution.

Viewing the various colonies thus in detail, it would seem

\* Coghlan, "Wealth and Progress of New South Wales," 1894, pp. 741-42.

† "Establishment of Savings Banks." Coghlan, "Seven Colonies," 1894 pp. 319-25.

<i>General or Trustee Banks.</i>		<i>Postal Banks.</i>
New South Wales	1832	1871
Victoria	1842	1865
Tasmania	Date Unknown	Date Unknown
New Zealand	1847	1867
Western Australia	None	1864
Queensland	None	1865
South Australia	1848	None

that the postal system in Australia had been as completely exploited as possible, having combined under one administration the telephone, telegraph and savings-bank with the mail service. But now appears a late report from Queensland stating that a signal service bureau has been annexed to each branch of the postal service, and it has already served to simplify greatly the registering of meteorological statistics.

When we take up for consideration the municipal industries, we find in them a contrast. The question of natural monopolies,—municipal gas and electric lighting and street car lines,—which with us is almost the only form of government activity arousing interest, has there attracted scarcely any attention. Outside the large cities of Sydney and Melbourne, the density of population has not been such as to demand street-car transit. So far the lines, such as there are, have been laid and operated by private companies. Interest in the subject has recently sprung up in New South Wales, however. There we find the chief railway commissioner, who has just returned from a trip to the United States, advocating the speedy introduction of our American trolley system for their city tramways—and this is shortly to be done.

South Australia and Victoria are evincing marked enthusiasm over the introduction of municipal sewage farms, and Adelaide, South Australia, is sending out glowing reports on the working of its municipal slaughter houses. Yet as a rule, municipal industries are not nearly as prominent or extensive as might naturally be expected in countries where state activity is so pronounced.

Stopping a moment to resurvey the ground already covered, it seems evident that the Australasian colonies are agreed, so far, in placing under the state the ownership and administration of the entire machinery of transfer—all means of internal communication, including roads, railways, postal service, telephones and telegraphs.

These, as the Australians regard them, are enterprises of such general utility that the economic interests of the people can be better conserved by government undertakings than by private enterprise; accordingly, the several colonies have taken upon themselves the responsibility of transportation and exchange in order that they might more effectually facilitate and equalize the advantages of transfer for different sections of the country and all industrial classes. In the constitution recently projected for the federation of the Australias, the federal government is given power to control transportation.

However, the Australias have not been satisfied with giving indirect aid to industry merely; their respective governments are reaching out yet further to assist directly in production. A succession of dry seasons between 1875 and 1880 wrought such frightful havoc among the pastoral and agricultural classes that the central authorities were obliged for months to dispatch special water-trains into the interior to relieve the water famines. This drew instant attention to the question of irrigation.

To Tasmania and New Zealand, each with an ample rainfall, besides an ocean to draw from, water supply is a matter of little moment; but throughout the continent of Australia, *irrigation* is the issue of the times. Wheat, I believe, requires as little rain as almost any agricultural staple, but wheat demands for successful cultivation a rainfall twenty inches or more varying with the conditions of evaporation. But in Australia, four-fifths of the land averages less than twenty inches a year, and nearly a half less than five inches. In fact there is no primary industry, cattle or sheep raising, mining, agricultural or dairy farming, which does not find itself dependent to a greater or less extent upon an artificial water-supply for success.

The urgency of this need has forced irrigation upon the various governments. Sir Alfred Deakin, at the head of an investigating commission, was sent out by the Victorian

government to report upon the irrigating systems of the United States. He also made a careful study of the methods of irrigation employed in Italy, India and Egypt, and published an official report thereon, advising the immediate extension of government works in Victoria. State irrigation is not confined to the latter, however; it has been taken up by all the Australias. The movement is at present so widespread and so varied that it is possible only to enumerate a few of the experiments that are being tried.

In Western Australia, the government has aided the mining interests directly, by furnishing condensers for domestic water supply and outlining a project for laying water-races through which salt water can be conveyed from the coast to work the rich gold fields of the Coolgardie district. Artesian bores are being put down in every section of Australia, where the tilt of the strata warrants it, and a very heavy flow of subterranean water has been tapped in several localities. The outlook in New South Wales is particularly promising.

Public watering places for cattle have been constructed at short intervals along the numerous cattle-routes. These stretch for thousands of miles, from the shipping ports on the eastern and southern coasts, across the barren regions of Western Queensland and New South Wales into the arid tablelands of North Australia. But by far the greatest outlay for irrigation has been made by Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia, where extensive canal and drainage systems have been supplemented by vast water-storage dams of immense capacity designed to facilitate intensive culture in the fruit and wine-raising areas.

Another function—a most unique one—has been forced upon the Australian governments, because of the utter inability of the farmers to fight the rabbits. After repeated attempts at extermination which resulted in ignominious failure, a Royal Commission on Rabbits was appointed to investigate and report. A reward of \$125,000

was offered to anyone who would devise an effective means of ridding the country of the pest—but in vain. Then the three colonies, Victoria, South Australia, and New South Wales, decided upon rabbit-proof fencing, the respective "states to advance to lessees of crown lands the cost of the fencing, to be repaid by installments spread over the life of the fence." Altogether nearly \$10,000,000 \* was spent in attempts at extermination. A single instance will suffice to show the enormity of the rabbit nuisance. A prolonged drought had driven the rabbits into a fertile section of Victoria, which had previously been fenced in with netting. Unable to escape, they perished there in heaps, whereupon it took twenty-six hundred men a week's time to bury the rabbits. Since the passage of the Rabbit Nuisance Act in 1883, New South Wales alone has erected 15,000 miles of fencing, at an expense of \$5,000,000 to the colony.

As the Australian railways are owned and controlled by the government, these can be easily utilized and made available for giving direct aid to industry. The pastoralists in Queensland are frequently obliged during the dry season to drive their sheep hundreds of miles across country to new pastures. The state, in several colonies, regularly offers a rebate of 25 per cent on such transfers of stock which have been necessitated by drought. Fruit-raisers in the interior have been given special freight-rates, enabling them to compete directly with the fruit farmers on the coast-belt, and similar differential rates have been made to shippers in the various meat industries. Desert tracts are opened up for settlement by projecting new railway lines across them, as the Victorian government has recently done in her *Mallee* district. The railroads, as in Germany, are made to carry farming materials, such as posts, rails, lime and fertilizers, at much reduced rates for the benefit of the agricultural classes. In this manipulation of rates is specially

\* "Australasian Sheep and Wool," pp. 32-35. U. S. Special Consular Report. "Victorian Year-Book," Pt. 2, pp. 309-10. Coghlan, "Wealth and Progress," 1894, pp. 355-57.



noticeable the preference shown to primary industries over manufacturing interests.

Perhaps the most pronounced measure, the most radical departure, in state activity, has been made for the purpose of rendering the land more accessible to the farming class. This is being done through the gradual substitution of leasehold for freehold. New Zealand started the movement, which can be traced even as far back as 1880, to the agitation begun by Robert Stout, premier of the colony, who maintained valiantly, in season and out, that it was "a crime for the state to sell its land for cash."

By his untiring agitation, he roused the people of New Zealand from a state of indifference in 1880, to one of intense enthusiasm by 1890, the results of which are to be seen in a succession of Land Acts—opening up new tracts for settlement, providing for advances to settlers and even permitting compulsory purchase of farming land by the government should the number of would-be settlers demand it.

This movement "back to the land" thus initiated by New Zealand is being followed up by New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland and Victoria, with much energy, particularly since the crisis of 1892-1893.

The system of leasehold now being introduced into New Zealand is not intended or expected to supplant freehold tenure, but it does offer substantial advantages to the would-be settler who proposes to use the land for productive purposes. He is able to obtain a small tract of arable or grazing land at a very low rental, for a period of 999 years, or a lease in perpetuity. This practically secures to the occupier as actual fixity of tenure as freehold purchase would do, while leaving him free to expend his capital in improvements upon his property, as he may desire. Compensation for improvements is also guaranteed him, should he choose to relinquish his lease at any time.

This land movement is necessarily a slow one, but it is a

most significant one, and promises to be effectual in securing the most beneficial results to the country at large. The benefit, moreover, will not stop there. Any people who can effect the decentralizing of the overcrowded cities, and induce the working class to move back to the soil, is sure to win for itself the gratitude of every other people, since there is no problem of the present day so perplexing as that of excessive city populations.

Resurveying the Australasian field, we find the industrial classes, at the present time, occupying a much more advantageous position than they held twenty years ago. Then the various colonies had been supplied by their respective governments with roads, railways and telegraphs, in fact, everything conducive to effective internal communication and transportation. But now the scope of state activity has been further extended. Beside the indirect aid to production the states are offering direct aid to production, by placing within the reach of all a permanent water supply, and, more than that, by offering to the people every inducement to engage in agriculture, by securing to each would-be farmer good land at very cheap rates.

Having gone so far toward developing the extractive industries, it would seem as though the various states would be justified in leaving the rest of the industrial field to private enterprise; but they have not done this. Since 1890, they have been pursuing the policy of offering special aid to special industries as well as general aid to all.\*

The *mining* industry is being materially assisted in two or three colonies by the grant of an annual appropriation called the Prospector's Vote. This is designated in New Zealand, as the "Reward for Gold-fields-Discovery Act." When a prospector is able to show a find running a certain number of ounces of gold to the ton, he receives a generous subsidy from the state. South Australia has recently bought a large cyanide plant, to be used in working

\**British Australasian*, 1890 to date.

gold ores that would otherwise be irreducible. In New South Wales there has been established a government assay department, which is nominally free to miners. The irrigation works projected by West Australia for the benefit of the gold fields district have already been noted.

Tasmania has always been the least progressive of the Australasian colonies; indeed, in the study of state activity, it might practically be left out of account altogether. Within the last three years, however, it has become very much interested in the *timber* industry, and the government has sent several trial shiploads of paving-blocks to London and there opened up a market for Tasmanian woods. New South Wales guarantees special aid in providing free sites for timber-seasoning near the main shipping ports. New Zealand has appointed a resident timber agent for London to open up new timber markets—the result of which is already seen in the partial displacement of Russian timber there.

The climatic conditions of southern and southeastern Australia are specially adapted for viticulture, the progress of which is marked in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. A few years since, the latter began the manufacture of *wines*. A wine expert was at once imported from France to superintend the government manufacture.

Finding that the excessive heat necessitated cold storage of the wine, the state has responded to the need by building huge storage warehouses along the seacoast. In these the wine is inspected, stamped by the government and stored until shipment. A wine-depot has been established in London, placed in charge of a resident wine commissioner. The aim of this measure is to keep the standard of wine exported of fine quality and to extend its use. Auction sales are now being employed to good effect in getting these south Australian wines before the English public.

The *dairy* industry is being specially fostered at present. Liberal cheese and butter bonuses have been granted by

Victoria and South Australia. Queensland has offered to advance a portion of the building funds to proprietors of new dairy-works and very low freight-rates for shipping service with refrigerating chambers. The New Zealand government sends out a butter expert to give dairy instruction in every butter factory in the colony, besides maintaining one in London to negotiate sales.

The fierce contest between beet-sugar and cane, that has already written the doom of the English sugar plantation in the West Indies, promises to be a severe struggle also in Queensland and Victoria. In Queensland cane culture is being rapidly extended. The most recent scientific methods which have proved so effective in sugar-beet culture in Germany are being introduced there. Cooperation between the cane farmers and sugar manufacturers is particularly successful. Already this intensive culture of the cane is illustrating to our American planters how much greater profits might be realized from our own plantations if similar methods were introduced into our Gulf States.

Alongside of Queensland, we see New South Wales and Victoria eagerly investigating their climatic conditions with a view to fostering the beet-sugar industry. Private grown roots disclose yields of from 15 to 24 per cent. of sugar, an ample guarantee that beet cultivation will produce good results. In 1896, Victoria passed an act empowering the government to aid in the establishment of beet-sugar factories. To every company showing an area of 10,000 acres suitable to beet culture, within a ten mile radius of a factory site, the government agrees to grant loans, not exceeding twice the amount raised by its shareholders, for the purpose of erecting mills. These are to be of three hundred tons daily capacity, and fully equipped with the most approved diffusion batteries. Repayment of the loan is to be made in twenty-three years in half yearly installments.

The position that Victoria has taken in regard to the beet-sugar industry is perfectly in keeping with its policy toward all primary production. While the other colonies have granted a bonus here and there, Victoria has outdone them all by the introduction of a most extensive bonus system.

In that colony alone, parliament has authorized the expenditure of £233,000 solely to stimulate the cultivation of food products or to encourage the acquisition of raw materials from natural sources. This appropriation has been extended to the cultivation of vegetable products to be used for the manufacture of fibre, tannin, drugs, dyes, perfumes and insecticides. Bonuses have been offered to factories engaged in fruit-canning, drying and preserving; also to vegetable oil factories. The butter and cheese bonuses have already proved an unqualified success, and these lines of business are now so well established that the bonuses have been withdrawn. £43,000 was expended in establishing a system of technical education to be given by experts, to improve agricultural methods. An additional bonus was set aside for the cultivation of forest trees of an economic character. In most of these cases, enough time has not yet elapsed to predict the failure or success of the experiments.

Whichever way we glance over the industrial field, we find the Australian governments participating actively in industry, and we find the number of industries being fostered directly by them as most inclusive, comprising mining, fruit raising, wine, timber, beet-sugar and dairy products—in fact, all the industries but once removed from mother nature. Australia is not a country designed for manufacture, and this the colonies are realizing more and more each succeeding year. If they are to grow into a great commercial nation, it must be as a primary producer. Already these industries alone produce more per inhabitant than is produced from the combined industries of any other

country.\* The effect of the late crisis but tends to accentuate the imperative need of more careful exploitation of natural resources and more intensive culture of the land.

Tasmania has suffered much from the surfeit of convict population forced upon it, and has not been able, so far, to project any radical policy of industrial development. Western Australia is too young in self-government and too large in extent to have gotten its economic bearings as yet. South Australia is probably more handicapped than any other colony in that so large a part of its territory has an annual rainfall of but five inches and the soil is so excessively alkaline as to render it unfit for tillage. Statistics of the past ten years show that a very large percentage of its private capital is being invested outside the colony, particularly in New South Wales, Victoria and New Zealand, where the natural resources are rich and varied.

Queensland, perhaps, has made the most marked progress of late. It is developing its agricultural and grazing lands with great discrimination and enthusiasm. Private enterprise appears to be higher in the ascendant than elsewhere. It now ranks fourth in industry and commerce, standing next to Victoria, New South Wales and New Zealand. South Australia and New Zealand were both

\* Coghlan, "Seven Colonies," 1896, pp. 315-17.

Total value of production, 1894-95 . . . . .	£ 103,672,000
Primary industries, " . . . . .	78,365,000
Other productive industries, 1894-95 . . . . .	25,307,000

*Average per Inhabitant.*

Primary industries . . . . .	£ 19	1s.	2d.
Other " . . . . .	6	3	2

<i>Country.</i>	<i>Average Production per Inhabitant.</i>		
United Kingdom . . . . .	£ 8	2s.	10d.
France . . . . .	12	2	3
Denmark . . . . .	16	13	4
United States . . . . .	14	2	7
Australia			
Queensland . . . . .	24	19	2
New Zealand . . . . .	23	9	2

settled at the same time, about 1840, and by free immigrants. They have held a distinctive position from the beginning as leaders in reforms and state experimenting. They have shown themselves most fertile in projects for fostering and developing industry, and these, in most cases, have proved more practicable than those of the other Australias. It is these two colonies, moreover, which have taken the initiative in electoral, financial and constitutional reforms, the benefits of which America has already in part appropriated.

None of the Australias can be accused of lack of initiative. Each colony in its own way is aiming at the most systematic development of its natural wealth. In every colony we find the principle of state activity well grounded and its efficacy unquestioned. Indeed, the latter seems to have received a fresh impetus within the last ten years, in comparison with which the early attempts at government participation in industry, covering the period from 1855-1885, seem little more than a preamble to the far reaching policy of state action which has been inaugurated and is now being effected by New Zealand and followed out in turn by the other colonies.

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## THE UNIT OF INVESTIGATION OR OF CONSIDERATION IN SOCIOLOGY.

In the general literature of the social sciences during the past decade one cannot fail to notice an increased and almost disproportionate interest in the problems of theoretical sociology. Some advance has been made in definiteness of purpose, in uniformity of methods, and in identity of subject-matter. We have perhaps emerged once more from the cloud of discredit in scientific circles that surrounded sociology a generation ago. Yet progress in these directions is still very slow in proportion to the effort that is being put forth.

Apart from difficulties due to inadequate and inaccurate terminology we suffer most at the present time from lack of unity in the subject-matter of the science. No one can tell upon taking up a treatise on sociology whether he is going to find a discussion of prehistoric man, a discourse on ancient mythology and religion, a treatise on education, a tract on philanthropy or social reform, a discussion of some phase of the social question, or perhaps a volume of sermons. Sociologists could much better risk the dangers of dissensions among themselves by coming closer together and dealing with the same subject-matter than they can afford the consequences of the present isolated efforts in building up corners of a far too greatly generalized science. Unless there is a change for the better, "consciousness of kind" among sociologists themselves will soon be on the ebb. Professor Ross tried to start his readers on the right track when in beginning his articles on "Social Control" \* he asked them to make all discussion of what society is, subordinate in the present stage of sociological theory to the consideration of what society does. If more writers would

\* *American Journal of Sociology*, 1896-98.



assume that attitude in treating any problem of sociology it would prove to be a great unifying factor. In the articles referred to, Ross has purposely restricted his studies to a very small part of the inquiry suggested by the words, what society does, but the view-point implied in all his subsequent discussion is clearer and more satisfactory because he has those words in mind. How do social organization, social life, human intercourse and association arise and operate to modify the conditions of individual life, and how do these modifications in turn mould and shape social organization? These questions are fundamental for modern sociology and need but to be more vividly in sight to act as a concentrating and limiting factor in the subject-matter of our science.

Other concentrating and limiting factors are necessary, however, if we are to obtain the cumulative results of intensive cultivation. The willingness of so many sociological writers to mislead and be misled by analogies drawn from other sciences and their use of figures of speech which have been worked out with a definite meaning in the science where they are properly used, but which only serve to call up foreign thoughts and vain imaginations when applied to sociological data, combined with the attempt to make the terminology of the related social sciences do duty in two places with different meanings, has led to endless confusion. The gradual recognition of the unsatisfactory condition of affairs due to these causes is a sufficient reason for an optimistic view as to the final outcome. Other sciences have passed through the same experience. Recent studies in biology and psychology have resulted in more systematic and better co-ordinated knowledge on those subjects where the problems and limits of investigation are scarcely better determined, largely because, it seems to me, there has been a definitely recognized unit of consideration.

Great diversity of opinion has prevailed among biologists concerning the nature of the cell, but notwithstanding this,

the cell has been for all biologists a common starting point and a constantly recurring common meeting-ground in the treatment of the data of their science. Biologists engage also in fruitless discussions as to whether their science is something distinct from morphology, physiology, embryology, etc., or a science including them all in a higher unity;\* but the results of their work maintain an outward unity because all newly acquired data are at once referred to some cell theory. No two biologists may be agreed in their theories concerning the cell, but it has served a most useful purpose as a unit of consideration.

In psychology the sensation has played a corresponding role. It is not defined in the same way by any considerable number of psychologists, but it occupies by common consent a central place in all psychological description and explanation. The atom in chemistry and the molecule in physics might be cited as illustrations of a somewhat analogous service performed by units of investigation and consideration in those sciences. The fundamental concepts of economics can hardly be said to be removed beyond the pale of controversy, and yet the science of economics is a definite body of knowledge largely because economists have had in the principle of the division of labor which presupposes the economic man a poorly defined but nevertheless commonly accepted unit of consideration. Is it possible to find in the data of sociology any constantly recurring factor in the socializing process which is fundamental to the concept of society in all stages of development, and which therefore can be regarded as a unit of investigation, consideration and reference for all truly sociological data?

Before attempting to answer the question just stated, it is necessary to examine more carefully exactly what we mean by a unit of investigation and consideration. I am not in search of a metaphysical entity—the datum of science—nor necessarily the primary fact given in experi-

\*Sandeman, "Problems of Biology," p. 53, *et seq.*

ence within the subject-matter of our science. Dr. E. A. Singer has considered this problem in a very able paper \* devoted to the use made of the sensation in psychology, and much that he has said concerning the futility of the search for such a datum of science I would willingly accept. In the general field of the social sciences, Mr. Arthur F. Bentley has discussed some of the fundamental units of investigation in this sense in a paper submitted to the Academy in 1895.† He finds impulse, custom and calculation on the part of individuals the true elements or units of investigation, which in combination with the knowledge that individuals possess of the physical world, of other individuals and of what he terms "social formations,"—that is, the objective series corresponding to custom on the subjective side,—give social phenomena in the sense in which the sociologist must subject them to scientific analysis. Mr. Bentley endeavors to show, and it seems to me that he does show, conclusively that it is these elements rather than groups of men that are the primary factors in sociology. But it is not in this sense that it is most desirable at the present time to search for a unifying factor in sociological discussion. We seek rather for something that can be taken by the sociologist as a standard, measure or test to be applied at the outset to social phenomena that belong to many social sciences in common, but phenomena which when viewed, grouped or analyzed in their relation to this unit are being treated in a way which it is the province of his science alone to do. Such a unit may be crude and capable of but poor definition in the early stages of the science and must needs be itself subjected constantly to criticism, discussion and analysis until it becomes in the history of the science a more definite and concrete concept. It is in this sense that it seems to me there must be one or

\* Read at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, December, 1897.

† *ANNALS*, Vol. v., p. 915, May, 1894.

more units of consideration and of investigation which would prove invaluable tools in the upbuilding of the science of sociology if we can but come to a common recognition and general acceptance of them. In this paper I propose to examine briefly one such unit, which I will call *the social imperative*, and to contrast it from the point of view of its utility in sociological research with three other concepts which are commonly used in very much the same way that the units of consideration to which I refer would necessarily be employed. These three concepts are: (1) The family; (2) the social man; (3) the social type.

The social imperative is a concept in terms of which we can state all of the more important problems of sociology and about which we can group the social phenomena needed by our science in the specific work it has to do. The social imperative is the modifying influence which makes the individual act differently in the presence of his fellow-man from the way in which he would probably act under the same circumstances if he were alone. It is in the first place and in the highest sense the influence of personality. Thus in primitive society men try to maintain the outward semblance of the person in their thinking or speaking of such influences, and call them by names that imply animate existence long after they have passed over into social customs and institutions. In more complex societies the social imperative finds very definite expression and to the superficial observer would seem to be chiefly embodied in social customs and social institutions or in what Mr. Bentley calls social formations. Even here, however, the element of personality remains. It lies back of all social customs, institutions and formations. We seem to react upon our social environment in much the same way as we do upon our physical environment, but we never think of the state, a law, the church, the school in quite the same way as we do of the soil, the weather, the climate, our food and other

factors of the physical world. They may all be equally objective to us in making up our minds to follow a certain course of action, but a very little reflection causes us to think of animate things lying back of the objective outward form of the social environment. When we realize this distinction and visualize it in our actions, we do act differently in adjusting ourselves to animate influences from the way in which we adjust ourselves to inanimate nature. Why this is so is the business of the psychologist to tell us, but the fact is a primary one for sociology.\*

The social imperative, then, is the sum of the animate influences, though these may be crystallized in complex societies, for the most part in institutions, customs and laws which are inanimate, which modify individual action in the direction of social ends. It is the social "ought" which makes certain kinds of activity and certain lines of conduct the badge of social ascendancy for a group or a society, and the requisite for success in the individual. It does not correspond, however, to the social standard which marks off one group from another within a given society or differentiates one society from another. A social standard is shared in about the same degree by all who belong to the group, while the social imperative is recognized in varying degrees by the members of a given society or group. It makes us ashamed not to profess certain virtues and not to avoid that which is generally denounced. An illustration of a very common form in which the social imperative is noticed in every-day experience occurred recently while I was out wheeling. A young lady in the party had a fall which must have caused considerable pain. She remarked, however, that she would not mind the fall at all if she could only get the dirt off her dress so that no one would know that she had had a fall.

\*Baldwin in his discussion of the self as a person has treated this problem from the point of view of psychological analysis. See "Social and Ethical Interpretations," Chap. I.

Sovereignty offers perhaps the best concrete illustration of the social imperative, as it has been most generally recognized in the treatment of social phenomena, but political science has still a vast unoccupied territory to inhabit, as it analyzes the elements of personality lying back of sovereignty and the state and behind many other objective expressions of personal factors in political life. In the phenomena of sovereignty, as we discuss it specifically in democratic forms of government and apart from its autocratic expression in the person of an all-powerful monarch, we find then in the second place the chief objective form of our unit of investigation. If a true socialistic regime were inaugurated the social imperative would be almost entirely absorbed in the state. In modern demotic societies, however, it actually finds expression in many objective forms at the same time, and it is the chief task of sociology to trace out, analyze and correlate the objective forms of the social imperative.

The social imperative is, in the third place, a variable unit of consideration. It has found objective expression in the past in the family as the chief social institution at certain stages of economic development. In some countries at certain periods its strongest expression has been in the church. At some stages of economic development it has been chiefly voiced by individuals who have thus become the great heroes of the race and have succeeded in turning and moulding the course of development at critical periods in the world's history. This is pre-eminently true of the nature of the work and influence of Jesus, and in general of all the great religious teachers of the race. Whatever the nature of the social imperative and however manifold the forms it may take in a given society, the modifications produced always depend in the ultimate analysis upon economic considerations, that is, upon our sensory knowledge of our physical environment and upon our development in the utilization of that environment. Hence sociology must

work with the results of economics as a foundation, but with complexes of elements in the mental attitudes of individuals which both economics and psychology will analyze for us. Professor Patten, in speaking of the development of the sensory powers being checked in their growth by limiting requisites among the elements of which the world is made up, says:

"The determining conditions are certain aggregates, such as soils, rocks, mineral deposits, rivers, seas, peculiar plants, animals and combinations of moisture and heat. Sensory phenomena cannot acquire an importance unless they indicate some limiting aggregate and are joined with some motor reaction which affects an adjustment. The mental units formed by contact with these aggregates are complex, partly motor and partly sensory. The social concepts belong to this class. They are not the outcome of mere contact with forces and elements of nature, but are due to the necessities of the limiting aggregates. Sociology has nothing to do with sensory or motor phenomena as such, nor with any isolated development of either sensory or motor distinctions. Psychic phenomena become social only when motor reactions of some kind accompany sensory perceptions. The sensory ideas stimulated by external conditions must, to become social phenomena, produce feelings of pleasure or pain, of fear or love, of desire or antipathy, of attraction or repulsion. The social unit is an aggregate of these two elements, and the form of the social phenomena depends on the way they are compounded."\*

The social imperative is just such a complex in the mental life of the individual the moment he faces another individual whom he regards as in some sense identical with himself, or whenever he confronts a situation demanding action and in which he recognizes elements of personality which he either identifies with himself or connected with which in higher stages of development he perceives likenesses and is conscious of kindred interests, motives, desires and attainments. Viewed in the light of the social imperative as a unit of consideration, social phenomena may be

\* Patten, "Relation of Sociology to Psychology," *ANNALS*, Vol. viii, p. 439, Nov., 1896.

studied connectedly and with more unity by writers who approach them from the distinctly sociological side. It is proposed, therefore, with a view to securing a common starting-point in sociological inquiries, a common meeting-ground in the comparison of results and perhaps in the philosophical analysis of the nature of the abstract concept of a social imperative, a common goal for sociological investigation.

It now remains for me to say a word about some other concepts which have been treated in an analogous manner to the suggestions that I have made concerning the social imperative: I. The family. Schaeffle, in his "*Bau und Leben des sozialen Körpers*," says: "The family is the simplest vital unit in societary organization (*des Gesellschaftskörpers*), as the organic cell is the elementary unit of an organic body."\* Comte wrote many years earlier:

"As every system must be composed of elements of the same nature with itself, the scientific spirit forbids us to regard society as composed of individuals. The true social unit is certainly the family—reduced, if necessary, to the elementary couple which forms its basis. This consideration implies more than the physiological truth that families become tribes, and tribes become nations; so that the whole human race might be conceived of as the gradual development of a single family, if local diversities did not forbid such a supposition. There is a political point of view from which also we must consider this elementary idea, inasmuch as the family presents the true germ of the various characteristics of the social organism. Such a conception is intermediate between that of the idea of the individual and that of the species or society."†

Some combination of these views which regard the family as a *micro-societas* and as an organic unit in a social organism has been held by doubtless the majority of sociological writers from Comte's time to the present day. It is, however, essentially a mechanical view of the phenomena of human society. The historical development of what we call

\* Vol. i, p. 66, second edition.

† "Positive Philosophy," Vol. ii, Book vi, cap. v, p. 280, Bohn's Library edition, 1856.



society lends some support to it upon first glance. The important part which the family as a social institution has doubtless played in the early stages of social growth as specially the emphasis laid upon it in the records we have of primitive social life would naturally suggest such an analysis. Some writers have likened the family to the cell in the organism and pressed the analogy much farther than Schäffle is willing to go. The mechanical nature of the concept is brought out still more clearly by others who treat it as a structural unit, which, when multiplied by a numerical coefficient, will give a clan, a tribe, a nation. It is this point of view, this method of looking at human society that is responsible for the barren results of much sociological writing. Those who are content to still regard the family as a micro-societas are compelled to rely on useless analogies whenever they meet the facts of the modern world in which we live. If the family is a true micro-societas there ought to be few difficulties in building up a theory of society. We would not need go farther than to study the nature of the family bond, the activities and development of family life. It is quite possible that human society has corresponded at some stages of its development fairly well to the social life of the isolated family where there were few or no social influences outside of the family ones. But even such a state of affairs can hardly be called society in the sense in which we now use the term. Such conditions could have existed only before the race had as yet grown into the possibilities of society in the proper sense of the word. No population could long have remained in that condition, and nowhere on the earth do such conditions probably exist to-day. We cannot refer all social phenomena to the family group, nor do individuals share in social life and partake of its benefits nor receive the major part of their training for social efficiency and social participation in the modern family as constituted in the highest civilizations.

Even the mass of social wealth can scarcely be said to be in the form of family possessions as Schäffle claims, and individuals certainly share in social wealth more and more by virtue of their membership in other forms of social organization, *e. g.*, the state, the city, the club and association, and the thousand forms of so-called voluntary association. The modern family in its relation to the other individuals of modern society is a protected group whose aim is to increase the satisfactions of its individual members in the consumption of wealth. It is therefore more often, as Plato correctly analyzed it, anti-social in the broad sense of the term.

II. The social man. If it were possible to enumerate a certain number of qualities which under all social conditions and all forms of society would characterize the truly social individual, we might adopt as a unit of investigation the social man. It would be necessary, however, in the enumeration of these characteristics or qualities to anticipate the modifications of the societary process in various stages of social growth, which would be impossible. The unit, moreover, is too variable a one to be of practical value. Like the family, the social man as a unit would embody in objective form the process which the sociologist desires to study in the making and rather from the subjective side. We also want to know of the failures in this social process as well as of the successes, and our unit of consideration must be one that will keep us at every stage of investigation close to the forces producing social changes. It may be profitable as well as interesting to attempt descriptions of a very general character of the truly social man or social classes in the community, as Professor Giddings has already done \* in the following words:

"The social class is made up of those whose dispositions and abilities enable and impel them to make positive contributions to

\* See article, "Is the Term Social Classes a Scientific Category?" *Proceedings of National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1895.

that sum of helpful relations and activities which we call society.  
 . . . . They are the social who can and will give of their  
 thought and culture, of their sympathy and resources, for the plea-  
 sure, the advancement and the well-being of their fellowmen.  
 . . . . Ability and willingness to devote life and means to the  
 defence and amelioration of the existing social order always has  
 been and always must be the test of positively social qualities in  
 the larger sense."

More than general descriptions of this kind can scarcely be attempted, and they are only useful in pointing out the social man among other social products and cannot be taken as an analysis of the central factor in the socializing process in general.

III. The social type. In the sense of a type of personality the idea of a social type has figured to some extent in sociological literature. If I understand Professor Giddings rightly, his principle of "consciousness of kind" finds its objective realization in a succession of types of personality. One of his pupils, Dr. John Franklin Crowell, has subjected this thought to a thorough philosophical analysis in a recent volume.\* Dr. Crowell distinguishes between social types and sociological types, meaning by the former the existing types of personality in any given society and by the latter the ideally possible types in the evolution of the same society. "The sociological type is selective: it indicates the logically normal adjustment of all specific tendencies of social development within the same social organization." † He defines the idea of type as follows: "The type in its objective sense, as a part of the social process, is a representative example of a class or group." ‡ The social type is then defined as "the aggregation of organic beings of like organic type." § These words are not intended,

\* "Logical Process of Social Development." New York, 1898.

† Ibid, p. 70.

‡ Ibid, p. 14.

§ Ibid, p. 41.

however, to refer merely to groups of individuals, but to isolated individuals as well, for farther on we read:\*

"Types of personality appear conspicuously in the personages upon whom social functions devolve, or whom custom has trained to follow a groove, generation after generation. The former we see in the diplomat, the latter in the peasant. More obscurely, but not less really social, types are definable in all groups or classes of like kinds of persons. There is the typical childhood, the typical old age, the typical parent, the typical teacher. Yet the type and the group are to be distinguished. The social type is a set of social qualities or characters belonging to a class as a whole and substantially found in each of its members."

The sociological type to which Dr. Crowell refers is "either a potentially normal type of personality or a theoretically superior type of social organization projected as a goal of practice." Dr. Crowell asks us to concentrate attention on the selective survival of sociological types. He conceives of the social process as a typological series in which we have in addition to the social and the sociological types below the social the *organic type*, or that which is given in nature before the societary process begins, and above the sociological type the ideal type, which is that conceived of as desirable apart from all considerations of conditions which limit the attainability of any type.

"This series begins in organic types and ends in ideal types, but its central feature is the relation of the social type already developed with the potentially normal types. . . . The social process, for one large portion of mankind and for nearly all of primitive mankind, no doubt, must have been, and is now, regarded as a natural process—natural in the sense of being largely dominated by forces little higher in the scale of tendencies than that of the superior non-human animals. . . . One cannot look long upon the great bulk of mankind, with all its aspirations that differentiate it from the lower animals, and balk this conclusion—that for the greater portion of man's career upon the earth and for the greater portion of the persons now alive upon its face the social process is still predominantly a natural process of organic survival. The

\*Ibid, p. 48.

weak physical types fail to survive and are eliminated. The strong guide the race. So far, then, as the social process is dominated by natural forces by which its tendencies are limited and its types of personality evolved we cannot go far wrong in saying that the social process is a selective process whose types survive by virtue of their efficiency in providing for the natural requisites of social existence. The social process is rightly regarded, therefore, from the point of view of nature as a process of the survival of *organic* types by natural selection of associative relations. Natural selection defines the minimum limit of typical development in society. The organic type of personality is the basis of the typological series. Hence physical culture of the organic type of personality is the natural basis of education. The process of race-development, on the other hand, is a process of selective development toward the *ideal* type as the *maximum* limit of development in society."

Summed up in a few words, Dr. Crowell would have us, from the point of view of sociological theory, examine all social phenomena only in their relation to types of personality and then study the interaction of these several types on each other with a view to estimating their relative worth to society and with the purpose of disseminating both the ideal and possibly attainable types of greatest worth. From this point of view sociology would become the chief guide in educational philosophy. To this view of the study and analysis of social phenomena I would make two general objections. In the first place, we would be dealing here again with the objective results of social development rather than with the essence of the process itself. In the second place, it is scarcely conceivable that we could hope ever to have any generally accepted common measure of type, especially in the case of sociological and ideal types, or reasonably expect to reach a common agreement concerning a concrete statement of what these types are for any given society. What is a potentially normal type in our present day American society? Upon what authority and by what means of investigation are such types to be determined? Such questions and many more that might be asked at the outset open up endless discussion and offer little hope that the idea

of a type of personality as an abstraction would prove to be a practically useful or desirable unit of sociological investigation.

In contrast with the three concepts to which we have briefly referred, the social imperative is a concept that brings us at once to the vital point in the examination on their subjective side of any group of social phenomena. It lies at the basis of the æsthetic feelings which are of great social significance, and furthermore, it offers endless opportunity for an analysis of the social process in its manifold objective manifestations in social organizations, institutions and customs. To view the facts of social life as they relate to some social imperative, to measure the reactions of individuals both quantitatively and qualitatively in the past and present history of human society, and finally to study the nature of social imperatives through their analysis and classification should be a chief aim of sociology.

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THE HISTORY OF FIAT MONEY AND CURRENCY  
INFLATION IN NEW ENGLAND FROM  
1620 TO 1789.

The scarcity of money was a vexatious problem with the American colonists from the beginning. The tax-gatherers\* and tradesmen experienced much trouble and delay in making collections. Importations from England of implements of production† were, at the outset, necessarily proportionate to the wealth of the community. Peltry‡ and fish,§ which were marketed here in abundance, settled balances abroad for a time. But the demands, as in every new country, were in excess of those products available for export, hence there was a deficit in London payable in English bills or specie. The specie of the colony was for the most part absorbed by the tradesmen in the course of business and was promptly shipped to London where the accounts of the Massachusetts merchants were at that time constantly in arrears.||

The colonial treasury received very little coin, and the amount lessened every year proportionately to the assessed valuation.¶ Live stock and produce were received by the Massachusetts treasury at an early date. Horses, cattle and

\* Massachusetts Records, Vol. iv, Pt. I, 247.

† Massachusetts Historical Collections, Vol. iii, p. 129. Governor Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 356.

‡ "Wonder-Working Providence," by Johnson, p. 199. Governor Bradford, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 108, 127, 204; Massachusetts Colonial Records, Vol. i, pp. 1, 81, 386. Force Tracts, i, p. 6; New Hampshire Provincial Papers, Vol. i, p. 71. Winthrop's "History of New England," Vol. i, p. 43.

§ "Pathway to Erect a Plantation." Winthrop, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 139. See W. B. Weedon's "Economic and Social History of New England," Vol. i, p. 129. A contrast of fisheries and furs. He says, "One partook of the departing barbarism, the other was a sure harbinger of the incoming civilization." Again, p. 18, he says, "Fish from the seas was the chief motor in starting the round of exchange."

¶ Massachusetts Colonial Records, Vol. iv, Pt. I, p. 198; Hull's "Diaries," pp. 179, 180, 190.

¶ Massachusetts Archives—"Pecuniary," Vol. i.

sheep were turned over to the treasury. It was customary in the Plymouth Colony as early as 1628, when the surveyor ran the lines of a lot of land to compensate him with a peck of corn.\* In the Massachusetts "Colonial Records" we find: "Sir Richard Saltonstall is fined four bushells of malte for his absence from Court" in 1630. Next year "Chickataubott is fyned a skyn of beauer for shooteinge a swine of Sir Richard Saltonstall." In the same year, "It is ordered that corne shall passe for payment of all debts at the vsuall rate it is solde for, except money or beauer be expressly named." This ill bit of legislation stamping as legal tender a product of variable value caused endless trouble for half a century or more.

Nathaniel Paine, in a paper read before the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester,† finds evidence of the existence of paper currency in Massachusetts as early as 1646. These paper bills were very probably issued by individuals of first rate credit, merchants or traders. Of their form and worth we know nothing, other than that they "passed in payment of debts." This note currency—a credit paper currency payable doubtless on demand—aided the colonists in settling local balances until the establishment of the Massachusetts mint at Boston in 1652.

Considerable trade was established with Spain and the West Indies by the year 1652.‡ At this time, too, the piratical operations of buccaneers or privateers of the Atlantic brought Spanish coin to New England and New York.§ Great Britain was at this time laying the foundation of a

\* "Plymouth Colony Records."

† Council Report, April 27, 1866.

‡ Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 174, 208.

§ Weeden, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 151; Bradford, *op. cit.*, p. 441. Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation" has recently been published by the State of Massachusetts in one volume and is sold at the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth for one dollar. It contains a valuable index, together with a report of the proceedings incident to the return of the manuscript to Massachusetts. The history is embellished by photogravures and facsimile pages of the original manuscript. Massachusetts Colonial Records, Vol. II, p. 18.



policy by which she eventually got control of the world's commerce, taking it out of the hands of the Dutch. A principle of her policy which undoubtedly effected the course of hard money in New England was the parliamentary decree that no specie should be exported from the kingdom. Frequently the tradesmen at Boston sent remittances of specie abroad. This outflow necessarily impoverished the medium of trade at home. The matter of establishing a mint at Boston was agitated and brought to the attention of the legislature June 10, 1652, and power was given John Hull and Robert Saunderson: "for the melting, refyning and cojning of silver." This mint continued operating until 1685, coining specie at about 22.5 per cent less than the standard value of old England. When the Massachusetts coin reached the London market the value was fixed as early as 1653 at a rate one quarter lower than theirs.\* The twelve penny piece was the famous pine-tree shilling; it was the one-twelfth of a pound of  $\$3.33\frac{1}{3}$ , or three-quarters of the estimated pound sterling. The Boston financiers of the seventeenth century intended to make a coin which should be good bullion, but which should be, as the English pound sterling was forced by law to be, a coin that would stay in the country.

The coins which came from this mint were "two pence in a shilling of less valew than the present English coyne, and the lesser peeces proportionably."† Despite the efforts of the legislature to debase the currency, the precious coin found its way to foreign lands. The interests of trade and commerce, which had received an impetus for a time, very soon had to pay the cost of this novel experiment in finance.‡ It was the beginning of a mischief which proved an almost constant source of annoyance to the government.

\* J. B. Felt's "Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency," p. 32.

† Massachusetts Colonial Records.

‡ Massachusetts Archives—"Maritime," Vol. I.

and people, and which was increased as new enactments of the legislature and private banks sought to relieve the pinching wants of a people with a scanty and bedraggled medium of exchange.

The populace clamored for more currency. It mattered little to them whether the coin or paper money with the escutcheon of the government stamped thereon asked for was real value or some percentage of a unit of value. The coinage at the mint did not meet every demand. "Country pay" still continued to settle the accounts of the rural districts. In 1687 the public demand on Hingham was partly paid in milk pails.\* For a long time the government received in payment of taxes whatever the colonist had to offer.† A discount from the usual rates was made to those who paid in coin. After 1680 the discount for specie was one-third. The authorities recognized the defects of the country pay system too well not to know that it was policy for them to give a liberal discount in favor of coin. Eventually the legislature of Massachusetts repealed the law which had occasioned so much loss to the colonial treasury.‡ Through the influence of the members of the general court, indulgencies were granted very generally to their constituents throughout the colony. The effect of this negligent policy upon the treasury was in every way disastrous.§ From the time the taxpayer deposited his grain and other products in the care of the local constable until the treasury actually received the cash realized from the sale of what was designated "specie," there was nothing but a succession

\* Massachusetts Archives—"Usurpation," Vol. 1.

† Massachusetts Colonial Records, May, 1658, say that no man should attempt to discharge his rates with *lank* cattle. *Boards* were accepted for taxes by the constable of Salisbury in 1657.

‡ Massachusetts Colonial Records, Vol. iv, pp. 2, 463.

§ "Financial History of Massachusetts," by Charles H. J. Douglas, Ph. D. This treatment by Dr. Douglas is especially good on the means and methods of taxation previous to 1789, and its application and relation to the "currency." The scope of his treatise includes banking and currency. A scholarly work, indispensable to students of New England finance and early currencies.

of deteriorations and losses.\* From the scanty figures preserved in the treasurer's records, it appears that from January 1, 1689, to April 17, 1689, a period of three and one-half months, the losses to the treasury from the sale of 9977¾ bushels of grain were no less than £99 1s. 3d., or at a rate of nearly £400 per year. The loss connected with country pay currency was only a logical sequence of the system which stamps as money any commodity of variable value.

The inter-colonial war between the possessions of France and England involved the province of Massachusetts Bay in serious financial difficulties.† The expedition against Canada in 1690 was a failure. To provide for the payment of the soldiers and *sundry considerable debts*‡ the government had recourse to an expedient which proved fruitful of mischief to the colony through two generations."§ December 10, 1690, the government of Massachusetts ordered the emission of "the first bills of public credit known in the American colonies." These treasury notes or bonds issued with the function of circulation were declared to "be in value equal to money, and were to be accordingly accepted by the Treasurer and Receivers subordinate to him in all publick payments and for any Stock at any time in the Treasury."|| The Colony of Massachusetts assumed the office and obligations of a "bank of credit." The colony virtually went into the banking business by anticipating the taxes with bonds which were to serve the people as "paper money"—the first paper currency in this country. The first issue of these bills was limited to £7000. Another installment was ordered February 3, 1691. Some time in May of the same year, the General Court¶ ordered that the

\* Felt's "Massachusetts Archives," Vol. c, p. 441; also p. 239.

† Massachusetts Province Records.

‡ Ibid.

§ Palfrey, Vol. iv, p. 58.

| Massachusetts Colonial Laws.

¶ Massachusetts Province Records.

bills out and to be emitted should not exceed £40,000. Undoubtedly this action was taken by the legislature to assure the people that the "paper money" was as good as "stampt silver" and certain of redemption since they were receivable for treasury dues.\* The paper currency of the government did not circulate very freely. The soldiers who received the bills at par were unable to get more than twelve or fourteen shillings a pound for them in trade. Very naturally these government bills increased in value in the hands of the taxpayers as the time for the payment of taxes drew near. Meanwhile the soldiers† lost about one-third of their scanty pay in discounts, or more properly speaking depreciation from lack of confidence in the credit of the colony. To facilitate the movement of exchange and elevate the colonial and provincial evidences of debt to the dignity of fiat money the General Court ordered in 1692:

"that all Bills of publick creditt, issued forth by order of ye Generall Court of ye late Colony of ye Massachusetts Bay, shall pass current within this Province in all payments equivalent to money and in all publick payments at 5 per cent advance."‡

The inducement of a bonus on the bills of the government payable by a discount on the taxes to those who favored the government with patronage and moral support had a goodly effect on the government securities at times. When the taxes were due the bills were worth more than hard money. For nearly twenty years these legal tender bills of the province of Massachusetts Bay passed with nearly the same freedom as silver, though occasionally the public confidence wavered.

The bills of credit, which very soon became the ruling force in trade, were redeemed yearly by the government until 1704, when the General Court voted to extend the

\* Weeden, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 329, says: "Inflation of the currency has frequently assumed these deceptive forms and appeared in this specious guise whenever the restless debtor has found his burden oppressive."

† Boston Athenæum Tracts, c. 55; c. 62.

‡ Massachusetts Archives—"Pecuniary," Vol. 1

time of redemption by taxes to two years, afterwards to a longer period, and finally to thirteen years. Up to 1702 there had been emissions of about £110,000.\* "Bills of this period continued at the rate of six shillings, a heavy piece of eight, and were called Old-Charter bills, because they were issued before the second Charter of William and Mary."† In 1702, another emission of £10,000 was ordered by the court.‡ This was supplemented by other issues annually to be cancelled by the taxes until 1704. The issues in the next few years were as follows: 1706, £10,000; 1707, £22,000; 1708, £10,000; 1709, £60,000; 1710, £40,000; 1711, £65,000—a total of £207,000. Next year the province bills were made legal tender. After 1707 the volume of bills grew larger with every emission and now assumed the proportions of an inflation. Meanwhile the royal government limited the operations of the General Court and placed the period of redeeming tax bills to the year 1747. Further emissions were forbidden, except by acts subject to the king's approval before they should take effect, unless all outstanding bills should have been redeemed.

A rather rare pamphlet, published in Boston in 1749, reviews the subject of paper money in this language:§

"Which not being very considerable, and the bills having a preference in the Treasury to silver, kept up their credit until about the year 1711, when such large sums were issued that silver began to be hoarded by some, and exported by others in large quantities and the bills became the only means and instrument by which private trade and dealing were regulated and managed. And to confine the currency of the bills, and effectually to banish silver and gold, the Massachusetts Province, in the year 1712, made their bills a tender in the discharge of all debts unless there appeared a special agreement or contract otherwise."

This is the story of a legal tender inflation in operation.

\* Massachusetts Province Records, Dec. 18, 1739.

† Paine's Council Report, American Antiquarian Society, April, 1866.

‡ Acts of Massachusetts.

§ "A Brief Account of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the Paper Currency of New England." Boston, 1749.

The law of exchange is just as exact and inevitable as any of the laws of dynamics. It is, as the essayist says above: "To confine the currency of the bills (*i. e.*, the currency of inflation or cheap money) and effectually to banish silver and gold." This is history.

Just prior to the period of inflation, the people's confidence in the credit of the province was considerably shaken. The decline in the value of the government paper rapidly increased. In 1710 an ounce of silver was worth eight shillings in paper.\* In 1727 it had risen to seventeen shillings. Connecticut†, New Hampshire‡ and Rhode Island issued bills of credit to defray the public debts and charges of the government. The experiences of these Anglo-American colonies with treasury bills had a marked bearish effect on the currency of the Massachusetts province.§ Rhode Island was particularly unfortunate in financial ventures, causing a large pecuniary loss to the holders of her bills in Massachusetts.|| It is obvious that the New England currency issued by the local governments early in the eighteenth century was merely a forced credit with no other security than the good-will and the chance of future prosperity of the government. Barring Connecticut¶ with an issue of £33,500 of bills which were redeemed with little or no depression, most of the New England monetary kites never found the haven of redemption. The following is a brief reference to the period ranging from 1691 to

\* MS., Robert Hale Beverly, about 1720, American Antiquarian Society, "Of the Exchange of Coins." Also Suffolk Probate Records.

† New Haven Historical Collections, Vol. i, pp. 50, 52; Connecticut Colonial Records, 1718, 74; Trumbull "Connecticut," Vol. p. ii, 47; Bronson's "Connecticut Currency," p. 30; Colonial Records of Connecticut, 1706-16, p. 111.

‡ New Hampshire Provincial Papers, Vol. ii, p. 733; Vol. iv, p. 685.

§ Rhode Island Colonial Records, Vol. v, pp. 10, 11; Potter and Rider, Rhode Island Tracts, No. 8, pp. 11, 16, 81.

|| Weeden, *op. cit.*, p. 481; Massachusetts Archives—"Letters," Vol. ii; Massachusetts Provincial Records.

¶ Connecticut Colonial Records, 1706-16, p. 111.

1714, by an historian\* who acquired considerable fame in financial problems:

"So many bills had been issued for the charges of the war, particularly the large sum of forty thousand pounds, issued for the Canada expedition, that they were become the sole instrument and measure of commerce, and silver and gold were entirely banished. Of two instruments, one in use in a particular State only, the other with the whole commercial world, it is easy to determine which must leave that particular State and which remain. The currency of silver and gold entirely ceasing, the price of everything bought or sold was no longer compared therewith, but with the paper bills, or rather with mere ideal pounds, shillings and pence. . . . It was thought that increasing the paper bills would enliven and reform the trade."

The Solons of the provincial period lacked experience and a knowledge of the practical working of financial systems. They had many thoughts, but few ideas. Early in the eighteenth century "silver and gold were entirely banished" from Massachusetts. Cotton Mather, who believed in the bills of credit, speaks of "there being Forty Thousand pounds, more or less, now to be paid, and not a Penny in the Treasury to pay it withal."† This was in 1697.

The paper bills‡ of Massachusetts were at a low ebb in 1714. There was a general scarcity of money and a universal cry for more currency. The medium of exchange furnished by the government was so uncertain that the public mind sought relief from past anxieties. The issues of bills by the General Court having been restricted by the royal government, the money question again occupied the serious attention of the citizens. The unhappy experience with the province bills persuaded many that it would be well to abolish paper money and use only specie for future transactions. Others devised a plan by which the province

\* Hutchinson's "Massachusetts," Vol. ii, pp. 187-88.

† Magnalia Book, Vol. ii. App.

‡ For a history of the currency, and for its literature, see "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. v, pp. 170-77.

was to loan to the people, on interest payable annually. In this cauldron of finance, the faction which created the greatest commotion was the land bank party.\* They desired to do business on the basis of a "Land Security as a Fund for Bills and Notes to be Circulated."† The agitation by the private bank advocates virtually compelled the General Court‡ to issue a loan of £50,000 in bills of credit to the people at 5 per cent per annum, one-fifth of the principal to be paid annually.§ This measure of the government virtually established a public bank which loaned bills of credit on mortgages of land. The business interests soon felt the want of a larger circulation. Their demands were temporarily appeased by a loan of £100,000 in 1716, secured by mortgaged estates of double the value of the sum borrowed for ten years at 5 per cent annually.|| The income from this issue of paper bills was to aid the government in liquidating public charges. When the period of redemption lapsed the bills were to be retired and burnt. The emission of this batch of government obligations depreciated the currency still more. A part of this loan was still in circulation in 1739.

A considerable portion of the people was favorably impressed with the private bank scheme which was advocated by the financiers, who were trying to grope their way out of the difficulties into which the legislators had led them. After 1714 the idea of a private bank scheme found a welcome in the minds of the people. It grew in popularity because its proposed function was simply to issue a circulating medium. The impression current in the trades circles was favorable to any emission of paper currency whether it had the seal of the province or of a private corporation. The public felt morally certain that the prosperity

\* *Boston News Letter*, No. 512; issue of August 20 and August 23, 1714.

† "A Vindication of the Bank of Credit," published December, 1714.

‡ *Massachusetts Provincial Records*.

§ Paul Dudley's "Objections to the Bank of Credit," etc., 1714, pp. 18, 32.

|| *General Court Records*.



of the province was proportionate to the volume of currency in circulation. "Considering the demand of the Government as to their taxes and the great occasions of the People as to their trade"\* more money of some kind was necessary to facilitate trade and commerce. But the one great principle of redemption for all paper currency in specie of intrinsic value was a conception they did not grasp. Hence every effort made to relieve the burden only tightened the ligatures of a cheaper fiat money. Those who possessed the precious metal knew its value. An early eighteenth century writer remarks:†

"Men are very loth to part with this charming Specie. And tho' it may go from them with less pain than when their Skin is stript from their Fingers, yet it comes away with much aversion."

This observation made by a leading citizen of the time when fiat money was forced upon the people with no provision for redemption in specie, illustrates a condition which, in the very nature of things, must ever exist when an unknown quantity is offered in exchange for a fixed value. A writer of the time, Mr. Wise, of Chebacco,‡ discussing the ubiquitous problem "How Shall We Keep up the Value of our Bills of Public Credit?" in a pamphlet styled "A Word of Comfort"§ offers an ingenious argument in support of the bills of credit:

"Gentlemen! You must do by your Bills, as all Wise Men do by their Wives; Make the best of them. It is an acknowledged Theorem, that there is no doing without Wives. The Lonesome and sower Phylosopher would frankly confess that Women were necessary Evils. . . . The great Skill is to cultivate the necessity and make it a Happiness; for that end, Wise Men Love

\* Dudley, *op. cit.*

† Rev. John Wise—"The first logical, clear-headed American Democrat."

‡ Now Essex.

§ "A Word of Comfort to a Melancholy Country. Or the Bank of Credit Erected in the Massachusetts-Bay, Fairly Defended by a Discovery of the Great Benefit, accruing by it to the whole Province; With a Remedy for Recovering a Civil State when Sinking under Desperation by a Defeat on their *Bank of Credit*." By Amicus Patriæ. Boston. Printed in the Year, 1721, 16mo. pp. (2930) 58.

their Wives; and what ill-conveniences they find in them they bury; and what Vertues they are enrich't with they Admire and Magnifie. And thus you must do by your Bills for there is no doing without them; if you Divorce or Disseize yourselves of them you are undone; Therefore you must set them high in your Estimation; and be no ways Prodigal of their Reputation, so as to vilify or run them down; as tho' they had more mischief than Good in them."

The learned writer of this disquisition saw the needs of the people, recognized the conditions, but failed to point out the needed application. A Virginian writer\* very early in the century seemed to have touched upon the source of these financial ills in writing to a correspondent in London on the subject of "reducing all the Coynes of America to one standard." He says: "Which standard, I humbly conceive, shall be as near the intrinsic value of sterling as possible." This bit of advice, which has the essence of wisdom in it, was thrust into the shadows by the luckless time-spirit. The colony's finances were wrestling on the brink of disaster, where every struggle served but to force them further toward the abyss of ruin.

The much desired inflation of the currency produced by the issue of £100,000 in 1716, had the same effect in forcing the hard money out of the community† as any law which creates a twofold currency one of universal and intrinsic value, the other of local value will always have. A writer on the "Melancholy Circumstances of the Province," reviews the situation in the usual lugubrious strain:

"All the silver money which formerly made payments in trade to be easy, is now sent into Great Britain to make returns for part of what is owing there. We have been so deficient in farming and managing our own manufacture, lived so much above our abilities, spent so much of our imported commodities, that our money is gone, there is scarce a penny of it passing for a twelve-month."

The law of natural selection was in operation in the finances of New England before the law itself was known

\* Cited by Felt in "Massachusetts Currency."

† "Distressed State of the Town of Boston Considered."—*Boston News Letter*.

to exist. The bills of credit remained at home at a discount. About the year 1720, a contemporary writer\* shows us the status of affairs after the bills of credit were issued by the government.

"As to silver and gold we never had much of it in the country; but we can very well remember, that before we had paper money, there was a sufficiency of it current in the country, and as the bills of credit came in and multiplied, the silver ceased and was gone."

Testimony of this nature, confirming the degeneracy of the financial policy which robbed the community of its specie, may be found in abundance in the numerous writings of the essayists of the first half of the eighteenth century.

The efforts of the crown and the representatives of England in the province failed to check the declining credit of Massachusetts. In 1720 the 5 per cent advance added to previous issues to maintain the bills at par was dropped. The premium failed in its purpose. The old custom was revived by the government of making a partial currency of produce. This lasted until 1723.† In 1721 there was another emission of £50,000 of bills by Massachusetts. The charges of the government were very much increased at this time by the Indian war. Silver rose until 1726, when the emissions became equal to the cancelings. The act of 1727‡ regulated the price of silver for obligations previously contracted. It fixed the value at 8s. for 1710, 1711; at 8s. 6d., 1712, 1713; at 9s. for 1714, 1715; at 10s. for 1716, 1717; at 11s. for 1718; at 12s. for 1719, 1720; at 13s. for 1721; at 14s. for 1722; at 15s. for 1723; at 17s. for 1724-27. This value set upon silver was measured by the paper money in circulation. In reality the silver had not appreciated in value, but the bills had depreciated. It was

\* "A Countryman's Answer to the Letter" (*i. e.*, "Distressed State of the Town of Boston").

† Massachusetts Provincial Records.

‡ Acts of Massachusetts.

silver going up in the sense that we saw gold going up in the sixties. The actual inflation which began in 1712 and 1713 at once raised prices in all commercial transactions. A natural result. The paper money was constantly depreciating in value and more of it was needed to make a purchase, hence the increase in prices. To enforce the circulation of the bills, laws were enacted which made the bills legal tender. Then reluctant debtors delayed more, to avail themselves of the advantages which the steady depreciation in the bills brought with the lapse of time.

The movement of paper money in Rhode Island issued against public credit was not in line with public confidence. The emissions\* of 1710 and 1711 were issued to meet current charges. The "bank" of £40,000 in 1715 was followed by nine others of infamous memory. In 1750, when the last bank of loan of the public credit to individuals was made, the British government peremptorily called a halt. Up to 1733 the Rhode Island bills circulated at about the same credit as the Massachusetts bills.† The decline in value of the Rhode Island bank was continuous.

New Hampshire issued banks at 5 and 10 per cent interest.‡ "Private gentlemen" planned an inflation of the currency for which the populace clamored.§ Connecticut bills passed at about the same discount as the Massachusetts currency. The more conservative financial policy of Connecticut doubtless moved an association of influential citizens in 1630, known as the New London Society for Trade and Commerce|| to circulate their notes for a period of about two years, when their career was cut short by a

\* Rhode Island Colonial Records, Vol. v, p. 9.

† In Weedon's "Economic and Social History of New England," there is much valuable comparative matter on finance and currency. Caps. ii, viii, xiii, xvii, xxi. His sense of proportion and wide search for data on all collateral subjects associated with the currency, make his work exceptionally valuable.

‡ New Hampshire Provincial Papers, Vol. iii, pp. 671, 688.

§ *Ibid.*, Vol. iv, p. 685.

|| Henry Bronson's "Historical Account of Connecticut Currency," in the New Haven Historical Society Papers, Vol. i, pp. 42-43.

legislative enactment.\* This private experiment at inflating the currency cost the people considerable money and virtually compelled the provincial authorities to issue more bills of credit to replace the exchange retired by the New London Society. Private schemes to enlarge the currency proved futile. The little matter of redemption was fixed for a time twelve years in the future when the price of silver was just twice as much as at the time of issue. Practically speaking, had the society continued business it might have redeemed its bills at 50 per cent on the face value—the result of an inflation of the currency.

Judge Sewall, of Massachusetts, makes this conscientious memorandum in his diary: "The diminution of the value of the bills of public credit, is the cause of much oppression in the Province."† Governor Belcher, of Massachusetts, complains in his messages, 1734, that the bills of the province read "equal to money," yet "16s. worth will not purchase 5s. lawful money."‡ In his message to the legislature he recommended to that body, "not to suffer an emission of any sort of notes or bills for the future, but such as will instantly and at all times honestly and truly command the value expressed in them." The masterly manner in which Governor Belcher reviewed the financial situation, pointed out the fallacies of inflation and exhorted the legislature to "apply a speedy remedy" will ever be a subject of praiseworthy comment. He seemed to grasp the needs of our degenerate currency system quite as well as his colleague Hutchinson. Together they fought a scrupulous battle for sound money.

The bills of a certain private bank and merchants' notes issued in 1733 at Boston added to the depreciation of the province bills. The Land and Manufacturers' Bank§ was a project which aimed to convert credit based for the most

\* Colonial Records of Connecticut, 1733, p. 421; 1735, p. 15.

† Judge Sewall's Diary.

‡ Governor Belcher's Speech.

§ Felt, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-105.

part on land security into money redeemable in twenty years by merchandise or produce at an arbitrary price. This private corporation was a revival of the land bank idea of 1714. In 1740 this institution issued and loaned about £35,000 which circulated as money. The government was restricted from issuing any more bills of credit, as there were £210,000 in circulation,\* redeemable in 1742, but no royal charge had been received interfering with the operations of a private bank. The time limit fixed for the redemption of the province bills was the year 1742. A number of prominent men, fearing that there would be a contraction of the currency when the province bills should be redeemed, organized the Land Bank to supply a medium of exchange. The mercantile community and a majority of the representatives in 1740 favored the scheme. Edward Hutchinson was the father of another private enterprise which issued paper money redeemable in fifteen years in silver at 20s. an ounce. The bills were denominated merchants' notes. This specie issue was called the silver scheme, and was looked upon by the governor and council with less disfavor than the Land Bank. Private banks received a check by act of parliament early in 1741. The specie Paying Bank placed the limit of its bills at £120,000.† The bank enjoyed public confidence because the bills read redeemable in silver. The restrictive measures of parliament precipitated the affairs of the Land Bank into the hands of a commission.‡ Nearly every responsible director was ruined by its failure, since every director was held accountable for the payment of bills which were circulated by the bank with interest. The affair caused no end of trouble, turmoil and disaster, and dragged on for nearly thirty years.§ The investors lost heavily. Former emis-

\* Massachusetts Provincial Records.

† Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society, 1860, p. 129.

‡ Hutchinson's Diary, p. 51.

§ Governor Belcher's Correspondence, in Library of Massachusetts Historical Society.

sions of province bills were not redeemed in 1742 owing to bad finances and a change in the royal executive.

To facilitate matters Massachusetts attempted to regulate the fluctuating currencies by an equity bill which became law in 1742.\* This was another attempt to rejuvenate fiat money and electrify the province bills with purchasing power equal to coined sterling silver. There were in circulation in Massachusetts at that time "public bills"—old tenor—of four provinces at 29s. per ounce of silver; new tenor of Massachusetts at 6s. 8d., but current at 9s. 8d.; Connecticut at 8s.; Rhode Island at 6s. 9d. There were still bills in circulation, a parcel of £110,000 of "silver money scheme or Merchants' notes," issued in 1733, which being redeemed in specie passed at 33 per cent better rates than province bills.† The silver bills of 1740 circulated to the amount of £120,000. Silver and gold did not circulate much, for when they drifted into the channels of commerce they were sent to England.

This fluctuating and complicated currency retarded business and crippled commerce. Ships, the building of which was the chief industry of New England, were lying in dry dock. Inflation was triumphant, business paralyzed. Peter Faneuil wrote his English correspondent in 1736:

"You will see by these Acc'ts. how dear build'g is: it is much cheaper to buy Vessells in the river of Thames than to have them built here for the Present."‡

A little later in 1741, exchange between sterling and Massachusetts paper was 450 per cent; necessarily creditors suffered much. Inflation invariably reduced the burdens of those who lived by credit at the expense of the creditor. Paralysis of business is the natural result of such conditions

\* Acts of Massachusetts.

† A Merchant's Letter. Cited by Felt, p. 107; also see Caulkins' *Norwich*, p. 209.

‡ Peter Faneuil, March 22, 1736; *Letter Book at New England Historical and Genealogical Society*. Cited by Weedon, p. 484.

of inflation, and the logical sequence of inflation is repudiation. In the end the credit of the government is ruined and the people robbed. The bullish activity in the currency reached the limit of expansion in 1745. The government resorted to a lottery as a means of raising funds, some £7500, to meet the demands of the famous Louisburg expedition. \* This was a logical corollary appended to the problem of inflation.

In 1749 the British government sent over to Massachusetts 653,000 ounces of silver and ten tons of copper to be applied to the redemption of the province bills. † This specie remittance saved the credit of the province. In June, 1751, £1,792,236 of public notes were redeemed in specie at the rate of one in specie to ten in paper. The miserable chimera of inflation, which began early in the century, developed in 1750 into a huge hydra which, through the intermittent stages, robbed the people of 90 per cent of the face value of the provincial output current at the time of redemption, besides arresting commerce and retarding the industrial interests of the community. Specie, which occasionally came into the province through the channels of commerce with Spain and the West Indies, was regularly transmitted to London. A magnet on the other side of the water—called the balance of trade—set the specie in a motion which reminds one too forcibly of perpetual motion. The inflated money oscillated within the sphere of its jurisdiction and never visited foreign lands.

The finances of the province of Massachusetts were in a needy condition very soon after the work of redemption was completed. In 1756 the province received £54,000 for past services against the French. The next year a grant of £27,380 was made by parliament and subsequent remittances to the province by parliament gave to the province the name of the "hard money colony." The old province

\* Acts of Massachusetts.

† Massachusetts Provincial Records.



bills had scarcely been redeemed in specie when the people again called for more paper bills. The experience of the past was not enough. Hutchinson tells us that:

“A great cause of prejudice against the redemption of paper currency and its cessation was that those who depended on their labor for support, suspected, that while the wealthy would hoard up the silver and gold, they should have none of it, and should be worse off than under the system of Province banking.”

To meet the wants of the treasury and supply the crying need—a medium of exchange—the General Court of Massachusetts issued in 1755 interest-bearing treasury notes for money borrowed on account of the province.\* This course was continually followed by the government until the Revolution, when the practice was resumed under a different administration. These treasury notes were not legal tender yet they passed quite generally in trade. In Rhode Island inflation was carried to a greater extreme than in Massachusetts. By her currency dissipation Rhode Island† lost most of her trade and commerce, which up to the middle of the century was especially large. Rhode Island had issued about £165 in paper per capita. This entirely deranged business for a time and precipitated some of the leading merchants into bankruptcy. The first act of bankruptcy was passed for the especial benefit of Joseph Whipple of Newport, then a great commercial centre.

To-day gold is generally preferred to silver. In 1762 the people strongly opposed the government when it was proposed to make gold a standard equal to silver.‡ Strangely enough Mr. Hutchinson shared the fears of the many. When the province changed the form of its notes in 1762 gold became legal tender. Frequently the government defaulted on its interest or prolonged the date of payment. Such measures naturally impaired the credit of the province

\* Journal of the House.

† Rhode Island Historical Tracts, Vol. viii, pp. 66, 67.

‡ Journal of the House.

notes. The New England provinces were in a weakened condition financially. Louisburg and Quebec had been captured. The effect of inflation was like a fever which leaves the patient with protracted ills. The depreciated bills of other New England provinces circulated under legislative protest in Massachusetts. As these bills were not redeemed by the specie received from England by the provinces, there was a plethora of them. During the period when the province of Massachusetts borrowed money from the people and did not make its obligations legal tender it had a larger prosperity as a community than when the phantasmagoria of inflation was dominant. Governor Hutchinson says in 1774: "There never has been a time since the first settlement of the Country, when the Treasury has been in so good a state as it now is." The year 1775 witnessed the revival of paper money as a legal tender by authority of the provincial congress. The nature of this currency was akin to the old bills of credit which seemed to have bequeathed to the new currency the destiny of fate. The whole system of fiat money fell by its own weight in 1778. Mr. Jonathan Amory, the great Boston merchant, says, December 16, 1780: "Everybody asks silver or gold or paper, as they please, paper having been for a considerable time at 75 per cent; goods bring three for one." The depreciation in fiat money was almost a constant factor in the finances of the continental times. Jonathan Amory says: "A good proportion of the money I took for debts was not worth one-third, and before I had a chance to lay it out, perhaps not one-sixth of what I had taken it for." The uncertainties of a fluctuating currency are always hazardous to business. In May, 1781, the continental currency had depreciated to five hundred to one of hard money. At this time the citizens of Philadelphia decorated themselves with paper dollars in the form of cockades and paraded the streets with a dog, tarred, his back covered with congress paper dollars. This incident marked the

downfall and inglorious defeat of the united efforts of the continental congress in support of a fiat currency.

A retrospect of the currencies of New England prior to the organization of the federal government reveals only overcasts and shadows. Weeden\* says:

"With the forecast of genius, they [*i. e.*, Potter, author of "Key to Wealth," and Gov. John Winthrop of Connecticut] struck at the essential nature of a currency, which is the exchange of values through the medium of a bill. Their ideas were crude, their methods were incomplete. Their plans, such as they were, never came to pass; yet they opened the way for a currency. The path has led through dark jungles and tangled swamps; it has sent off many byways into the morasses of bankruptcy and repudiation. Danger and toil have always attended the explorers in finance, and they always will. Nevertheless the path is the way of civilization. The greater the development of civilized life, the larger will be the values in paper and credit."

The pathway to our present monetary standard is lined with the wrecks of different forms of currency, country pay, debased coinage of the Boston mint, credit bills of the Colony of Massachusetts, fiat money of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, legalized fiat money, inflated currency, land bank bills, silver notes, treasury notes, continental currency. Each form of currency, the product of necessity, relieved the wants of trade for a time, but periodically the support gave way and each had been leaning on a reed.

Fiat money means degeneration; degeneration precipitates inflation; inflation culminates in repudiation.

FRANK FENWICK MCLEOD.

*Boston, Mass.*

\* *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 324.

## BRIEFER COMMUNICATION.

### LABOR CONDITIONS IN FRANCE.

Since the completion, a few months ago, of the statistical inquiry of the *Office du Travail* into the "Wages and Hours of Labor in French Industries," there exists, for the first time, a fairly complete and accurate presentation of the actual conditions of French workingmen. The report is considerably more extensive than its title suggests. It presents not only the rate of wages and hours of labor, but also a vast amount of statistical information upon methods of remuneration, employment of women and children, stability of employment, cost of living, relief, pension and insurance funds, wages in different industries, at different periods and in different parts of France, etc. The scope of the inquiry was somewhat narrowed, however, in order to exclude industry on a small scale, and such extractive industries as agriculture and forestry. The *enquête*, moreover, was extended to 2957 establishments only, although these comprised 674,000 workmen, or about one-third of all employed in industry on a large and on a medium scale. The investigation was begun and almost completed in 1891 (some of the figures are for 1893), but the last volumes of the report were not issued to the public until 1898. The report was long in the making and this gave a chance for the material collected to be well digested, clearly presented, and put into a form convenient for analysis. In the following communication I have not attempted to enter into the details of the administration of the *enquête* nor to criticise the statistical methods employed, but have merely endeavored to summarize the more important facts contained in the six volumes,\* in order to give a general idea of the conditions existing in France.

#### *Establishments Considered.*

The investigation was extended to 2957 private establishments (not including transportation enterprises), the average force in them being

\* Office du Travail. "*Enquête sur les Salaires et la Durée du Travail dans l'Industrie Française.*" (*Grande et Moyenne Industrie*). In four volumes and two appendices. Paris, 1893-1897 (1898). The first volume considers the industries of Paris Volumes II and III, the industries in the provinces, and a special volume, an appendix to Volume III, the wages of the employes in state industries and railways. Volume IV presents a general resumé, and a separate volume (*album graphique*) gives these results in the form of diagrams

155 workmen, and the average horse-power, 115. The total number of employes considered was 674,000, including state enterprises and the transportation industries, or about one-third of the whole number of employes in these industries. The industries observed were found to be on an average larger in the provinces than at Paris, the average complement of men being 125 at Paris (*Département de la Seine*), and 160 in the departments, while the horse-power used was 130 in the departments, as compared with only 45 per establishment in Paris. The concerns observed were almost always joint-stock companies, employing steam, or other mechanical power. Of the total number of employes, about 3 per cent were foremen, 71 per cent workmen, 18 per cent workwomen, while 8 per cent were children and apprentices of both sexes. While the proportion of women and children was greater in Paris than in the provinces for industries connected with chemical and with food products, and less for the paper, metallic and stone-cutting industries, the same proportion of 26 per cent, or of one woman or child for every three men, obtained in the *Département de la Seine* and in the other departments. The proportion of skilled workmen is small for the preparatory (as also for the extractive industries) and is greater for industries where the product reaches its final form. The proportion of skilled workmen seems also to increase with the hardness of the substances worked upon.

#### *Duration of Work.*

The number of days worked in the establishments is on an average almost exactly equal to the number of week-days in the year, holidays excluded. The employes, however, do not work during the whole period. They lose on an average about 5 per cent of this time through sickness and regular absence, so that for those regularly employed there are about two hundred and ninety working days in the year. The normal (or habitual) working day is from ten to eleven hours in the Department of the Seine. In the provinces, more than one-fifth of the establishments employ their men habitually twelve hours per day, and in 3 per cent of all cases the men are employed more than twelve hours per day. In 6 per cent of the establishments, however, including very important metallurgical, mining and glass-blowing industries, the normal working day in the provinces is nine hours or less in duration. This does not include time for meals and repose, which is always at least an hour, and in two-fifths of all establishments more than an hour in length.

The *actual* number of hours of work varies with the industry and the period of the year. It is long for the textile workers and short

for coal and lignite miners, but for all industries the average working day may be estimated at ten and one-half hours, and two-thirds of all days worked are between ten and eleven hours in length. The working day does not vary at all from one month to another for three-fourths of all employees, and in the case of less than ten per cent of the employees is this variation two hours or more. According to the statements of the employees, no overtime is worked in one-half of all establishments, while of the remainder only one-fifth (one-tenth of the total) pay for overtime at an enhanced rate.

#### *Stability of Employment.*

The *enquêtes* attempted to discover, firstly, the monthly variations in the number of employees in each industry; secondly, the average variation in the various establishments of the numbers employed during the course of the year, that is, the average for all establishments between the maximum and minimum number of workmen employed; and thirdly, the average number of individual workmen who have been employed, for whatever period, in each establishment during the year.

The variation in the number of men employed in any industry depends largely upon its character. In the various industries considered it ranges from 1 to 75 per cent, but for the total of all industries, it averages only 4 per cent. The same latitude of difference is also to be observed in the average variation per establishment, which ranges from 7 per cent in the manufacture of paper, caoutchouc, etc., to 70 per cent in the building trades. For all industries, the variation during the year is 19 per cent, which shows a considerable movement from one establishment to another.

The total number of individual workmen actually employed in the various industrial establishments is from 35 to 40 per cent greater than the average number of persons employed during the year. This makes the maximum number of all employees 135 to 140 per cent of the number regularly employed, and the minimum number, 60 to 65 per cent of the average number of men employed. The *Office du Travail* estimates that there are 115 workmen for every 100 positions, of which 75 are regularly, and 40 are casually employed. Instead of 100 men working 290 days per year (29,000 days), 75 men work 295 days each (22,125 days), and 40 men average 170 days ( $6800 + 22,125 = 28,925$  days).

#### *Wages.*

The average wages of all employees in the industries considered, without reference to the age, sex or situation of the employees was

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1080 francs (\$216) per year, 3.75 francs (75 cents) per day, and 35.5 centimes (7.1 cents) per hour. Wages are about twice as high for men (4.20 francs) as for women (2.20 francs per day), about 50 per cent higher in Paris than in the provinces. The daily wages for men are 6.15 francs in Paris and 3.90 francs in the departments; for women, 3.00 francs in Paris and 2.10 francs in the departments.

The *enquête* does not give the number of employes receiving different scales of wages, except in the case of workmen (paid by the time) in Paris, and the employes of state industries and railways. In these cases, however, 85 per cent of the employes were found to be in receipt of wages, the difference between the maximum and minimum of which was not greater than three-fourths of the average rate of wages.

If the wages in the different industries be compared, it will be seen that the wages are higher in the industries in which the material is fashioned and finished than in those in which it is prepared or extracted. In other words, wages are higher the nearer the industry is to the finished product and the further removed from the raw material. Mining, however, forms an exception to this rule. While above ground, wages are apt to be low, where the work is difficult, dangerous, fatiguing or repulsive, the rate of wages in this extractive industry is higher than the general average for all industries (railways excepted). It may also be stated, as a general rule, that the rate of wages within a given group of industries will vary to some degree with the nearness to completion of the articles produced, a higher grade of skill being usually observed in the finishing processes. There is, however, but little difference to be noted between the wages paid by different establishments within the same industry, in the same place, there being a current price for labor, as well as for commodities. Even in such cases, however, there may be considerable variations due to differences in the policy of the establishments.

The rate of wages within the various groups does not seem to depend so much upon the length of apprenticeship, and the amount of "professional" knowledge necessary, as might be assumed. Paper-makers, shoemakers, weavers and turners often earn, after a long apprenticeship, less than simple unskilled laborers.

When the work, once learned, is mechanical and simple, the apprenticeship has rather the effect of securing the position than of raising the wages of the employe. The influence of the productivity of labor is seen in the high wages that are frequently paid to unskilled labor, applied to machines of great productive power.

The rate of wages depends, moreover, considerably more upon the constancy of the effort, and the amount of intelligence required to perform the work, than upon the length of apprenticeship of the employe.

Within the same industry there are included numerous groups of workmen, whose labor is widely divergent. In general, the wages of those employed in the principal work of the industry are higher than those of the men who are employed at work that is merely accessory and incidental to the principal production. Under accessory work are included principally maintenance and repair of buildings, tools, etc.

The wages of women are about one half of those of the men, but as a rule, their work is different. Where both sexes are employed at the same kind of work, however, the principle of "equal pay for equal work" does not apply, except in the cutting of precious stones. In this industry, women actually earn more than men (5.15 francs for women, 4.65 francs for men). About 9 per cent of all workmen and women are paid by the month, 57 per cent by the day or hour, and 36 per cent by the piece. This is about the same for Paris and the departments, but in the city the employes are paid their wages at shorter intervals. In the provinces, 42 per cent of the establishments still pay by the month; in Paris the proportion is but 15 per cent. Piecework is more prevalent among women than men, since the former are usually employed at simple and oft-repeated operations, that more readily admit of payment by the piece. Upon the whole, it seems that, for Paris at least, the wages earned for piecework are somewhat greater than those paid per unit of time.

The actual remuneration of the laborer does not depend entirely upon the rate of his wages. The amount that may be added or deducted from his wages must also be considered. In a number of the larger industries, especially in the provinces, the employe is subject to be fined for various offences to a greater or less degree. This system prevails in Paris in 6 per cent of the establishments, employing 13 per cent of the employes, and in the provinces in 22 per cent of the establishments employing 47 per cent of the employes. On the other hand, the employes of 17 per cent of the provincial establishments receive subventions in kind. This is particularly the case in industries producing articles of domestic consumption, such as coal, wood, liquor, etc. Old age pensions are very rare, and the principle of profit-sharing is not carried out to any great extent. Of the 2957 establishments visited, only 16 shared the profits of the business with the employes, while allowing



them access to the books of the firm, but in the case of 110 other concerns, considerable sums were regularly distributed in the form of gratuities. Insurance against accidents, especially in industries involving considerable risk, is quite general. The employers have also created relief funds, which are open to about one-half of the workmen, while a large proportion of the remainder are affiliated with friendly societies, which pursue the same aim. Pension funds, however, have not been established in a general manner by more than two or three per cent of the establishments and not more than ten per cent of the employes possess the opportunity of obtaining a pension.

*Wages and Duration of Work as Affected by the Importance of the Establishment.*

The evident tendency of the large establishment to survive and grow at the expense of the smaller ones, and the vast revolution which is being effected in consequence of this tendency, renders a study of the relative advantage that is offered by industry on a large, and by industry on a small scale of more than merely statistical interest. Presumably on the principle that the difference between future and present industrial conditions is foreshadowed in the difference between the conditions at present existing in the large and the small industries, the *Office du Travail* has made a comparison of the conditions of labor as affected by the size of the establishment. In Paris, the comparison is not so successful, since that city is not the natural field for production on a large scale, and with the exception of articles of superior quality, etc., is destined to see the large industries emigrate to the country. But in the provinces, where staples are manufactured and where the industries are more homogeneous, a considerable improvement is to be observed in the conditions of the laboring classes. Not only in mining, metallurgy and in railway work, but in a number of other industries conducted on a large scale, hours are shorter, employment more regular and wages higher than in the industries on a small scale. Thus to take but one of a large number of instances, the daily wages of all miners were 4.90 francs in establishments employing over 1000, 4.45 francs in establishments with 500 to 999 men, 4.05 francs with 100 to 499 men, 3.85 francs with 25 to 99 men, and 2.40 francs with less than 25 men. The instability of employment (the per cent of difference between the greatest and smallest number of persons employed) was between 33 and 34 per cent for all industries employing less than 100 persons each, but sinks rapidly with the increase in size of the establishments, until

it is only 10 per cent for concerns with over 1000 employes. While in the industries with less than 25 employes the working day is eleven hours, it is only nine and one-quarter hours in industries with over 1000 workmen. In the opinion of the *Office*, therefore, these economic advantages compensate the workman for a certain "*contrainte morale*," which the work in the great factory imposes.

*Territorial Variation in Wages.*

As there is a difference in wages between Paris and the departments, so are there variations to be observed among the departments themselves. The report divides the whole of France into seven groups, according to the rate of wages there prevailing. It will be seen that wages are highest in the *Département de la Seine* (Paris), group I, somewhat smaller in the neighboring *Département de Seine-et-Oise*, and gradually decline until they reach their lowest level in some of the Departments of Brittany, the Southwest and Centre. The following table will also show a correspondence between high wages on the one hand and density of population, preponderance of urban population and high ground rents upon the other:

GROUPS OF DEPARTMENTS.	USUAL RATE OF WAGES.		Number of inhabitants per square kilometer (.385 square miles).	Proportion of urban to total population—per cent.	RENTAL VALUE OF DISTRICT.	
	Unskilled workmen.	Skilled workmen.			Per taxpayer.	Per inhabitant.
	<i>francs.</i>	<i>francs.</i>			<i>francs.</i>	<i>francs.</i>
First group (Seine) . . . . .	5.00	7.50	6607	99	974	180
Second group (Seine-et-Oise) . .	3.60	6.10	112	39	363	114
Third group . . . . .	3.35	4.50	106	30	221	64
Fourth group . . . . .	3.00	4.00	73	37	152	44
Fifth group . . . . .	2.75	3.90	55	29	123	35
Sixth group . . . . .	2.50	3.50	51	24	109	29
Seventh group . . . . .	2.20	3.10	58	18	93	22
All departments except that of the Seine (Paris, group I) . .	2.75	3.75	66	31	144	39
All departments . . . . .	3.00	4.05	72	37	182	50

*Cost of Living.*

The *Office du Travail*, in its attempt to make comparisons of the cost of living in various parts of France, was forced, in the absence of reliable data on certain elements of expense (particularly rent) to employ a combination of methods. The *Office*, therefore, made use of a series of typical workingmen's budgets, considered the wholesale prices for food paid by hospitals, colleges, etc., in various districts, and finally attempted to obtain an approximation of the workingman's cost of living by deducting the rate of wages, with board and lodging included, from the rate of wages without board and lodging. Without criticising these methods, it may be said that, according to the calculation based upon them, the average amount paid for board and lodging by the unmarried workman is 2.10 francs a day, which is about two-thirds of his daily earnings. It also appears that the cost of living is lower where wages are lower, but that the difference in wages between various districts is considerably greater than the difference in the cost of living. This is not unnatural, however, when we consider that what is here included under the term cost of living forms a smaller part of the standard of life in the great cities than in the small villages of the provinces. The following table, in a somewhat different form, is to be found in the fourth volume of the Report (page 260):

GROUPS.	RATE OF WAGES IN PER CENT OF GROUP I.		COST OF LIVING IN PER CENT OF GROUP I. ACCORDING TO THREE METHODS OF CALCULATION.		
	Of unskilled workmen.	Of skilled workmen.	First method.*	Second method.†	Third method.‡
I . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
II . . . . .	72	91	91	91	100
III . . . . .	67	60	77	74	83
IV . . . . .	60	53	75	72	75
V . . . . .	55	52	75	67	76
VI . . . . .	50	47	71	68	68
VII . . . . .	44	41	72	68	52

*Variation in Wages During the Last Half Century.*

A satisfactory comparison of the conditions of labor of to-day with those of fifty years ago can not be made for France, owing to the absence of reliable statistics on the hours of labor and the stability of employment in former periods. For the rate of wages, however,

\* Estimating an annual consumption of 2000 kilograms of bread.

† Estimating an annual consumption of 1000 kilograms of bread.

‡ Estimated from the amount deducted from wages for free board and lodging.

there exist a series of former *enquêtes*; the industrial investigations of 1840-45 and 1860-65, and the more special *enquêtes* of 1853, 1857 and 1871 to 1885, and a mass of other material. These figures show that the money wages of employes have almost doubled in the case of men and more than doubled in the case of women during the last fifty years.

*Daily Wages in France.*

	1840-45	1853-57	1860-65	1874	1891-93
All workmen in provinces . . . . .	2.07	.....	2.76	.....	3.90
All workwomen in provinces . . . . .	1.02	.....	1.30	.....	2.15
Coal, lignite, etc., miners ( <i>de combustibles, minéraux</i> ) . . . . .	2.10	2.35	2.60	3.56	4.20
Masons (in provinces) . . . . .	.....	2.35	.....	3.15	4.05
Masons (at Paris) . . . . .	4.15	4.25	5.25	5.50	7.50

This table shows us the increase in money wages, but it is necessary to know the purchasing power of the money received during the different periods in order to know whether there has been an actual increase of wages. The statistical report furnishes a comparison of prices paid during fifty years by hospitals, etc., for the articles entering into the consumption of the provincial working families, and while these prices are thus frequently wholesale, instead of retail, it is hardly probable that the whole calculation is thereby vitiated. It seems from these figures that while rents have more than doubled during the last fifty years, the cost of food and lodging has increased only about 25 per cent, and the cost of food, lodging and clothing (in the same amount and of the same quality) has increased less than 25 per cent. Thus while the French workman of to-day receives almost 200 per cent of the wages of fifty years ago, he need spend but 125 per cent of what was spent by his predecessor of fifty years ago for his food, lodging and clothing. As a matter of course, the expenditure of the workman has kept pace with his increased wages, as may be seen from the immense increase in the consumption of cheap luxuries, as well as in the interesting fact that the amount deducted from money wages for board and lodging has increased at the same rate as wages themselves, and bears the same proportion to wages now as it did fifty years ago. While it is therefore impossible in the absence of figures to speak very precisely about the change in the hours of labor or in the stability of employment, it can be stated quite definitely that both the money and the real wages of French workmen have considerably increased during the last half-century.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

WALTER E. WEYL.

## PERSONAL NOTES.

### AMERICA.

**Indiana University.**—Dr. Ernest Ludlow Bogart has been appointed Acting Assistant Professor of Economics at Indiana University during the absence of Professor Frank Fetter. Dr. Bogart was born March 16, 1870, at Yonkers, N. Y. He entered Princeton in 1886 and graduated in 1890 with the degree of A. B. The years 1891-93 Dr. Bogart was teacher of modern languages at Hillman Academy, Wilkesbarre, Pa. He then went abroad to engage in post-graduate study and studied at the Universities of Berlin and Halle, receiving the degree of Ph. D. from the latter institution in 1897. The year 1896-97 he was Fellow in Social Science at Princeton University, and the next year he studied at Columbia University. While in New York City he was a resident worker at the University Settlement, and assisted in the investigations of the Committee of Fifty on the Relation of Intemperance to Pauperism. The year 1898 he was Acting Professor of Economics and Sociology at Smith College.

Dr. Bogart is a member of the American Economic Association and the American Statistical Association. He has written:

"*Financial Procedure in State Legislatures.*" *ANNALS*, Vol. VIII, September, 1896.

"*Die Entstehung und Bedeutung der Volkspartei in den Vereinigten Staaten.*" *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, October, 1896.

"*Die Finanzverhältnisse der Einzelstaaten der Nordamerikanischen Union.*" Pp. xiii, 157. Jena, 1897.

"*Die Nationalschuld der Vereinigten Staaten.*" *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, January, 1898.

**Johns Hopkins University.**—Dr. John Holladay Latané has been appointed Lecturer in American Diplomatic History for the ensuing year at the Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Latané was born April 1, 1869, at Staunton, Va. He attended the public schools of Baltimore, and in 1889 entered the Johns Hopkins University, from which institution he graduated in 1892 with the degree of A. B. He pursued post-graduate study at the Johns Hopkins University for the succeeding three years, and received the degree of Ph. D. in 1895. He then became Acting Professor of History and Economics in the Baltimore City College. In 1896 Dr. Latané was appointed Master of History

and English in the Military Academy at San Rafael, Cal. He then returned to Johns Hopkins University to study jurisprudence and diplomacy, holding a Fellowship in History for the year 1897-98. He is a member of the American Historical Association, and has written:

"*The Early Relations between Maryland and Virginia.*" Johns Hopkins University Studies. 13th Series, No. 3. Pp. 66.

"*Intervention of the United States in Cuba.*" North American Review, March, 1898.

"*The Diplomacy of the United States in Regard to Cuba.*" Report of the American Historical Association for 1897. Pp. 70.

**Ohio State University.**—Professor Wilbur H. Siebert\* has been advanced to the position of Associate Professor of European History at the Ohio State University. During the two years 1895-97 Professor Siebert was on leave of absence from the Ohio State University and he spent that time in study at Harvard University, devoting his attention principally to the history of the Underground Railroad. He has written:

"*Light on the Underground Railroad.*" 1896.

"*Emancipation by the Underground Railroad.*" (On press.)

**Stanford University.**—Dr. Frank A. Fetter† has been appointed Acting Professor of Economics at Stanford University. His recent publications include:

"*Versuch einer Bevölkerungslehre.*" Pp. viii, 100. Jena, 1895.

"*Theories of Value and Deferred Payments.*" ANNALS, Vol. V. May, 1895.

"*The Gold Reserve, its Function and its Maintenance.*" Political Science Quarterly, June, 1896.

"*The Improvement of Methods of Poor Relief in Indiana.*" Bulletin of Indiana Board of State Charities.

**Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt‡** has been appointed Lecturer on the Pacific Slope History at Stanford University. This work will be in addition to his duties as Professor of History and Political Science in the University of the Pacific. His recent publications include:

"*General Bidwell's Trip Across the Plains in 1841.*" San Francisco Call, January 23, 1898.

"*Christ as a Social Reformer.*" California Christian Advocate.

**Union College.**—Dr. Frederick Robertson Jones has been appointed Instructor in History and Sociology in Union College. He was born January 4, 1872, at Pittsville, Md., and obtained his early education in Laurel, Del., Baltimore and Cambridge, Md. He entered the Western

\* See ANNALS, Vol. iv, p. 462, November, 1893.

† See ANNALS, Vol. v, p. 589, January, 1895.

‡ See ANNALS, Vol. vi, p. 205, September, 1895.

Maryland College in 1889, graduating in 1892 with the degree of A. B. He received the degree of A. M. from the same institution in 1895. The years 1892-94 Dr. Jones spent in post-graduate study at the Johns Hopkins University and the following year at the Hartford School of Sociology. The next year he returned to Johns Hopkins and he received the degree of Ph. D. from that institution in 1896. The year 1896-97 he was Acting Instructor in History and Economics at Western Maryland College. He then became special representative of the United States Bureau of Education to investigate the higher popular education in England. Upon his return to the United States in October, 1897, he was for a short time Acting Instructor of Economics at the Johns Hopkins University, during the absence of Professor J. H. Hollander abroad.

Dr. Jones is a member of the American Historical Association and the National Conference of Charities and Correction. He has written:

"*The Johns Hopkins University.*" Western Maryland College Monthly, 1893.

"*History of Taxation in Connecticut (1636-1776).*" Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science. 14th Series, No. 8. Pp. 70.

"*Memories of Oxford.*" Parthenon (Union College), 1898.

**Wellesley College.**—Mr. Francis Harding White\* has been appointed Instructor in History at Wellesley College. After leaving the Kansas State Agricultural College he became Assistant in History at Harvard University. He also engaged in graduate study at that institution and received the degree of A. M. in 1898. He has written:

"*Pupils' Outline Studies in the History of the United States.*" 1895.

"*The Placing Out System in the Light of Its Results.*" Proceedings of the International Congress of Charities and Correction.

"*The Settlement of the United States.*" The Industrialist, 1897.

**Wells College.**—Dr. Dean Augustus Walker has been advanced to the position of Professor of Social Science at Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. Professor Walker was born on February 3, 1860, at Diarbekr, Turkey. His early education was obtained in the Newton (Mass.) public schools, and in 1880 he entered Yale University, from which institution he graduated with the degree of A. B. in 1884. He continued his studies at Yale and received the degree of B. D. in 1889, and that of A. M. in 1890. In 1895 he received the degree of Ph. D. from the University of Chicago. In the same year he was appointed Instructor in Social Science at Wells College.

\* See ANNALS, Vol. iv, p. 308, September, 1893.

**Yale University.**—Dr. Irving Fisher,\* has been advanced to Professor of Political Economy at Yale University. His recent publications include :

"*Appreciation and Interest.*" A study of the influence of monetary appreciation and depreciation on the rate of interest, with applications to the bimetallic controversy and the theory of interest. Publications of the American Economic Association. Pp. 116. Vol. XI, No. 4. 1896.

"*What is Capital.*" *Economic Journal*, December, 1896.

"*Senses of Capital.*" *Ibid.* June, 1897.

"*The Role of Capital in Economic Theory.*" *Ibid.* December, 1897.

"*A Brief Introduction to the Infinitesimal Calculus, designed especially to aid in reading mathematical economics and statistics.*" Pp. 92. New York, 1897.

"*Cournot and Mathematical Economics.*" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, January, 1898.

"*Would Bimetallism Benefit the Debtor Class.*" *The Bond Record*, April, 1896.

Dr. John C. Schwab† has also been advanced to Professor of Political Economy at Yale. His recent writings include:

"*The Financier of the Confederate States.*" *Yale Review*, November, 1893.

"*History and Political Science in Yale College.*" *Ibid.* August, 1894.

"*Remarks on the Currency Question.*" *Ibid.* February, 1895.

"*The Evolution of the Financial Planks of the Democratic Platforms.*" *Ibid.* August, 1896.

"*The Literature of the Campaign.*" *Ibid.* November, 1896.

"*The Fundamentals of Money and Banking.*" *Business*, September, 1896.

"*State Expenditure in Connecticut.*" *Yale Review*, November, 1897.

"*A State Tax on Rentals.*" *Ibid.*

"*The Revolutionary History of Fort Number on Morris Heights, New York City.*" New Haven, 1897.

"*State Tax Commissions.*" *Yale Review*, February, 1898.

IN ACCORDANCE with our custom we give below a list of the students in political and social science and allied subjects on whom the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred at the close of or during the last academic year:‡

\* See ANNALS, Vol. vi, p. 300, September, 1895.

† See ANNALS, Vol. iv, p. 650, January, 1894.

‡ See ANNALS, Vol. i, p. 293, for Academic Year, 1889-90; Vol. ii, p. 253, for 1890-91; Vol. iii, p. 241, for 1891-92; Vol. iv, p. 312 and p. 466, for 1892-93; Vol. v, p. 282 and p. 419, for 1893-94; Vol. vi, p. 300 and p. 482, for 1894-95; Vol. viii, p. 364, for 1895-96; Vol. x, p. 256, for 1896-97.



**Columbia University.**—James Walter Crook, A. B. Thesis: *Theory of Wages in German Economics.*

John Franklin Crowell, A. B. Thesis: *The Logical Process of Social Development.*

John Archibald Fairlie, A. M. Thesis: *Administrative Centralization in the State of New York.*

Matthew Brown Hammond, Ph. B., M. L. Thesis: *The Cotton Industry.*

Robert Harvey Whitten, L. B. Thesis: *Public Administration in Massachusetts.*

**Cornell University.**—George Bulkeley Wakeman, A. B. Thesis: *The International Relations of the United States during the Civil War.*

**Harvard University.**—Samuel Bannister Harding, A. M. Thesis: *The Contest over the Ratification of the Federal Constitution in the State of Massachusetts.*

James Sullivan, Jr., A. M. Thesis: *The Life and Political Theories of William of Ockham.*

Arthur Mayer Wolfson, A. M. Thesis: *The Podesta: A Study in Italian Municipal History.*

**Johns Hopkins University.**—Charles Hillman Brough, A. B. Thesis: *Irrigation in Utah.*

Percy Lewis Kaye, A. B. Thesis: *The Colonial Executive Prior to the Restoration.*

Guy Carleton Lee, A. B. Thesis: *Hincmar: An Introduction to the Study of the Revolution in the Organization of the Church of the Ninth Century.*

**Michigan University.**—Riotaro Kodama. Thesis: *The Development of Railway Transportation in Japan.*

**Yale University.**—George Kingsley Olmsted, Ph. B. Thesis: *The Economic History of Sugar in the Nineteenth Century.*

Albert Beebe White, A. B. Thesis: *The First Eight Years of Henry III.'s Reign, 1216-1224.*

Sarah Scovill Whittelsey, A. B. Thesis: *In How Far Has Massachusetts Labor Legislation Been in Accordance with Teachings of Economic Theory?*

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For the academic year 1898-99, appointments to fellowships and post-graduate scholarships have been made in the leading American colleges, as follows:

**California University.**—*Le Conte Memorial Fellowship in Political Science*, George Darby Leslie, Ph. B.

**Columbia University.**—*University Fellowship in Administration*, William Henry Glasson, Ph. B.; *in American History*, William R. Smith, A. M., and Edwin Platt Turner, A. B.; *in Constitutional Law*, Carl Lotus Becker, L. B.; *in Economics*, Jesse E. Pope, M. S.; *in History*, Newton D. Mereness, A. M.; *in Political Economy*, Charles Eugene Edgerton, A. B.; *in Statistics*, Comodore Edward Prevey, L. B. *President's University Scholarship in Administrative Law*, William A. Rawles, A. M.; *in Finance*, Maurice Henry Robinson, A. M. *University Scholarship in American History*, Charles Lee Raper, A. B.; *in Economics*, Alvan Alonzo Tenney, A. B.; *in European History*, James Thomson Shotwell, A. B.; *in Finance*, Benjamin Wofford Wait, A. M.; *in History*, Thomas H. Haynie, A. B.; *in Political Science*, Mackay Bernard Aston, A. B., and William Buck Guthrie, B. S., Ph. B.; *in Public Law*, Walter Percy Bordwell, L. B., and John Randolph Neal, A. B.; *in Social Science*, Warren L. Hoagland, Jr., A. B.; *in Sociology*, Frederick Morgan Davenport, A. B.

**Cornell University.**—*Fellowship in American History*, Walter Henry Ottman, A. B.; *in Political Economy and Finance*, Gertrude Shorb Martin, Ph. B., and Nathan Allen Weston, L. B. *President White Fellowships in History and Political Science*, Robert Clarkson Brooks, A. B., and Julia Swift Orvis, A. B. *University Graduate Scholarship in American History*, Louis Dow Scisco, B. S.

**Harvard University.**—*Henry Bromfield Rogers Memorial Fellowship in Jurisprudence*, George Henry Boke, Ph. B. *Henry Lee Memorial Fellowship in Political Economy*, William Lyon Mackenzie King, LL.B., A. M. *John Thornton Kirkland Fellowship in Economics*, Charles Sumner Griffin, A. M. *Ozias Goodwin Memorial Fellowship in Constitutional Law*, Charles Andrew Rhetts, LL. B., A. M. *Parker Fellowship in History*, Sidney Bradshaw Fay, A. M. *Robert Treat Paine Fellowship of Social Science*, John Edward George, A. M., Ph. D. *James Savage Scholarship in Classical History*, Homer James Edmiston, A. B. *Thayer Scholarship in History*, Joseph Parker Warren, A. M.

**Johns Hopkins University.**—*Fellowship in Economics*, Thomas Sewell Adams, A. B.; *in History*, Laurence Frederick Schmeckebier, A. B. *Hopkins Honorary Scholarship in History*, C. W. Somerville, A. B. *Hopkins Scholarship in Economics*, G. E. Barrett, A. B. *Hopkins Scholarships in History*, W. S. Drewry, A. B.; D. E. Motley, A. B.; W. S. Myers, A. B.; C. L. Raper, A. B., and C. C. Weaver, A. B.

**Ohio State University.**—*Emerson McMillin Fellowship in Economics*, William B. Guitteau.

**Vanderbilt University.**—*Scholastic Fellowship in History*, David Duncan Wallace, A. M.

## BOOK DEPARTMENT.

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### NOTES.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN has for many years pursued the plan, not unusual in foreign universities, of employing a printed syllabus in connection with its lecture courses in economics. The outline used by Professor H. C. Adams in his courses covers the field of both theoretical and applied economics. Quite recently this has been supplemented by a six page synopsis of lectures on "English Industrial Development,"\* containing well-chosen bibliographical references and an outline of the field to be covered by the course in this subject. So long as we remain without satisfactory textbooks, some such supplement as this to the ordinary lecture course is almost indispensable.

The practical difficulties connected with such a syllabus have to do with the library rather than with the class-room. Brief as it is, this synopsis refers to the works of twenty different authors, aggregating thirty-five volumes. A small class might possibly be able to look up all the references given, even though the library contained only one copy of each work. A class of twenty could hardly be expected to do it. A class of fifty would find it impossible. Shall students be required to purchase more books than is now customary, or shall our university libraries adopt the plan of buying numerous duplicate copies of standard works? The latter alternative seems alone practical but is sure to arouse opposition on the part of library authorities.

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WITHIN RECENT YEARS the study of constitutional law has become a recognized part of a liberal education. In Dr. Boyd's "Cases on American Constitutional Law"† we have a tacit recognition of this development, since it is intended for the use of university students rather than of practicing lawyers. In judging of the value of such a collection, which makes pretension not to originality but to convenience, the only points for criticism are the arrangement and the completeness of the material presented. The author has arranged his cases in sixteen convenient groups, *e. g.*,

\* *History of English Industrial Development.* (Political Economy, III.) Synopsis of Lectures. Ann Arbor: George Wahr, 1898.

† *Cases on American Constitutional Law.* Edited by CARL E. BOYD, Ph. D. Chicago: Callaghan & Co., 1898.

Taxation, Money, Commerce, etc., and in each group has given apparently only such cases as were deemed of most importance. Bearing in mind the needs of the student he has also made frequent omissions of the unimportant details in the decisions and has added occasional explanations and references of considerable value.

The usefulness of this compilation would have been increased if each case of a complex character were placed under several headings. Thus a case like *Marburg vs. Madison* ought not to figure only under the heading "Validity of Legislation." It seems also as if the cases under "Federal Government and the States" might have been better selected.

The collection is thoroughly up to date, including *In re Debs* on the Scope of Injunctions and Recent Income Tax Decisions.\*

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THE GREAT INTEREST which is just now being taken in all parts of the world in the reclamation of arid lands through artificial irrigation, insures for Mr. Brough's scholarly monograph on "Irrigation in Utah"† a wider circle of readers than usually greets a doctor's thesis. The main body of this work is divided into two parts, of which Part I deals exhaustively with "The Economic History of Irrigation in Utah," while Part II discusses less fully "The Problems of Irrigation in Utah." Each of these parts is supplied with an excellent bibliography and the whole work concludes with appendices explaining the topographical features of Utah and some technical points connected with irrigation. As was to be anticipated a considerable portion of Part I is devoted to a description of the industrial system of the Mormons, to whom the credit for the success irrigation has attained in Utah is mainly due. Briefly described this system was that of co-operation coupled with private property in land. Each cultivator received at the outset a farm of a certain size and certain water rights in return for which he was required to do his share of work on the common canal and ditches which brought the all-important water from the head of the cañon to the farms in the valley. As population became denser this system was extended and modified. Secondary and tertiary water rights were recognized in addition to the primary rights originally granted, and gradually the right to a certain supply of water seems to have become the object of private property dissociated from the land which without it is of little value. At the present time large

\* Contributed by Dr. James T. Young.

† *Irrigation in Utah* By CHARLES HILLMAN BROUGH. Pp. xv, 212. Price, \$1.50. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1898.

capitalistic water companies are common in Utah, but these have never been managed in such a way as to arouse the cry of monopoly in that state as has been the case in Colorado.

The principal "problems of irrigation" discussed in Part II have to do with the control of the water supply. The author advocates: (1) the cession to the state by the national government of all irrigable lands still included in the public domain; (2) the sale of these lands to individuals, to whom water is to be supplied by incorporated water companies whose rights and duties are rigidly prescribed in their charters; and (3) the creation of a state board of water control to exercise supervision over the water companies and their customers. Though full of commendation for public ownership as carried out by the Mormons, the author has little confidence in the efficiency or integrity of a system of public ownership dominated by the recently created state government.

The future of irrigation in Utah, though assured, can hardly be considered brilliant. Of the 52,601,600 acres in the state, only 3,654,000 are believed by the author to be irrigable and of these nearly one-third have already been ditched and rendered suitable for cultivation. So far as is yet known the water supply must be drawn entirely from the surface and therefore is replenished solely by the annual rain and snowfall which in Utah is not much over thirteen inches.

The author points to the increase of 17 per cent in the volume of water contained in Salt Lake since 1870 as an indication that this supply will become more and more abundant, but just how this is to be brought about as long as the rainfall remains constant is not made clear. In estimating the chances of the future the author, furthermore, overlooks entirely the danger that continuous irrigation may exert a deteriorating influence on the fertility of the soil as it is said to have done in India. According to a reputable writer large areas in that country have been converted from fertile fields into alkaline deserts by irrigation, owing to a lack of suitable underground drainage. It would be interesting to learn whether the large crops which are obtained in Utah during the first decade after the land is brought within the pale of irrigation continue without diminution over longer periods, but this is a point to which the author's attention does not seem to have been directed.

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THE LABOR DEPARTMENT of the English Board of Trade is bringing out a series of reports on "Changes in the Employment of Women and Girls in Industrial Centres" to supplement the general

report on the "Statistics of the Employment of Women," published in 1895. The first of these reports\* was prepared by Miss Collet and deals with the flax and jute industries. It contains an interesting history of female labor in these industries as well as a sketch of present conditions. The conclusions arrived at justify a very optimistic view of the future of female factory hands. Their wages have risen more rapidly than those of men, while there is an increasing difference in the rates of wages received by skilled and by unskilled women. At the same time "children working half-time now earn more than when working full time in 1833." A comparison of the condition of female operatives in Dundee and Belfast seems to indicate that women are better off in the latter place, although their wages are higher in the former.

IN HIS "*Cent Ans d'Histoire interieure*"† André Lebon undertakes to explain why French political systems during the past century have not developed a people capable of representative government, such as is known in England and the United States. He lends additional interest to his story by accompanying it with many suggestive hints concerning the might-have-beens of history. No attempt is made to detail the causes of the successive convulsions through which France has passed, but the summary judgment is given that the accumulating errors coupled with the increasingly repressive rule of each period were responsible for the excesses with which each closed. Here is the fundamental weakness of France, for in the author's words: "It is not by rushing from one extreme to another that a great country establishes its liberty or preserves its position in the world." Many, if not all, of these violent changes might, in the author's opinion, have been avoided. Had any ruling house other than that of Bourbon been placed on the French throne in 1815 an opportunity would have been given for such a development as England experienced after the expulsion of James II. Louis XVIII. endeavored to restore the conditions of 1780, and instead of that gradual advance in political ability which might have been secured, the absence of opportunity left France in 1830 no more capable of self-government than she had been in 1815. Louis Philippe and Napoleon did little better, so that no generation during the past century has been trained in the proper use of the political freedom which its predecessor for a few years secured.

\* *Changes in the Employment of Women and Girls in Industrial Centers.* Report by Miss COLLET. Part I. *Flax and Jute Centers.* Pp. iv, 113. Price, 6d. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1898.

† *Cent Ans d'Histoire interieure, 1789-1895.* By ANDRÉ LEBON. Pp. 339. Price, 4 francs. Paris: Colin & Cie, 1898.

After a severe struggle, lasting from 1870 to 1885, the tendency toward reaction seems to have suffered a decisive check and now for the first time the nation has an opportunity for political development. Its successes or failures in representative government cannot fairly be compared with those of England or the United States, but as a generation comes into control, which has had training in such methods, more may be expected. Although M. Lebon omits all discussion of the foreign relations of his government his book suffers somewhat from condensation. Nevertheless it is well written and suggestive. Every one will not share his belief in the future of the existing republic, but all may hope that he has prophesied wisely.\*

"INDUSTRIAL EXPERIMENTS in the British Colonies of North America"† quite sustains the character of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science in which it appears as an extra number. The work is divided into three parts: (1) A statement of the advantage to Great Britain in having her naval stores produced in her own colonies rather than imported from Northern Europe; (2) an account of the various methods adopted by the home government to encourage the production of naval stores in the colonies; and (3) growing out of the preceding, the conflict of commercial interests between the mother country and the colonies. The purposes of Great Britain in adopting the policy described in this book are shown to be twofold: she wished to be as independent of Europe as possible, and she wished to have the largest colonial market for her manufactured commodities. Without the production of naval stores, the middle and northern colonies did not have sufficient raw materials to keep up the balance of trade; further, these colonies had not specie to make good this deficiency, hence they were driven to manufacture for themselves.

With the above as a groundwork Miss Lord has given in some detail an account of the attempts of the home government to keep the colonies producing raw materials in the form of naval stores and of the resistance of the colonists. Present interest in industrial history assures to this work a kindly reception. The book is a fair example of the historical monograph now being written in American universities. Citations and references are given on almost every page. The study is largely based on the Board of Trade Papers, although references are made to many other authorities.

\*Contributed by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln.

†*Industrial Experiments in the British Colonies of North America*. By ELEANOR LOUISA LORD. Pp. x, 154. Price, \$1.25. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1898.

AN INTERESTING AND useful handbook\* on state, county, township and city government has just been issued by the University Book Store of Minneapolis. The author, Dr. Frank L. McVey, is Instructor in Economics in the University of Minnesota. This small volume of eighty-three pages contains a succinct account of the organization of the state and local governments together with much interesting data concerning the electoral divisions and judicial districts. The book will be of considerable value in elementary instruction in civics, for which purpose it is primarily designed. It is to be hoped that in the course of the next few years we shall have a series of similar handbooks covering all the states of the Union. At the present time the greatest need for civic instruction is in state and local government. The concentration of interest in national affairs has been accompanied by a loss of interest in state and local affairs, which has reacted most unfavorably upon the vigor of state institutions. This valuable little book by Dr. McVey is an indication of a healthful reaction destined to give the different portions of our political system their due place in the activity and interest of our citizens.

JOHN HENRY NORMAN has recently brought out a second and enlarged edition of his useful "Ready Reckoner of the World's Exchanges," under the title of "Norman's Universal Cambist."† A new preface has been added in which is reprinted a leaflet by the author entitled "The Science of Money," which is made the text for an earnest appeal for public school instruction in the subject of money to accompany courses in geography. The book is divided into two parts. The first contains a general explanation of the monetary systems of the world and of the terms employed in connection with foreign exchanges. In the second part the author takes up special problems connected with exchanges and gives exhaustive tables, by the aid of which the exchange broker can work out the most complicated questions that are likely to arise in connection with his business transactions. Mr. Norman has a rare talent for simplifying and clarifying the mathematical operations connected with foreign exchanges, and suggests numerous original methods for reckoning the ratios of exchange between gold and silver basis countries, pairs of exchange, etc. Though intended

\* *Minnesota. State, County, Township and City.* A handbook of information concerning the state, its government, officers and resources.

† *Norman's Universal Cambist; A Ready Reckoner of the World's Foreign and Colonial Exchanges.* By JOHN HENRY NORMAN. Pp. xxix, 264. Price, \$3.00. London: E. F. Wilson, 1897.



primarily for business men, the book contains much information and not a few suggestions that will be helpful to teachers of economics.

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"AN EIGHT-HOURS DAY,"\* by W. J. Saxby, contains some interesting notes on different phases of the question treated. The author is opposed to a compulsory eight-hours day and seeks to justify his position by bringing together arguments and statements of facts and opinion bearing on both sides of the question. These are arranged in such a way that the arguments in favor of an eight-hours day are promptly refuted, while those opposed to it are strengthened and confirmed by observations of the author. The contents of the volume include: (1) a brief summary of the arguments on either side; (2) an analysis of the probable effects of an eight-hours day; (3) an account of some experiments with an eight-hours day; (4) a *résumé* of proposals looking toward the introduction of an eight-hours day; (5) some facts and quotations about the recent engineering dispute bearing on the question.

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PROFESSOR GUSTAV SCHMOLLER has just brought out in one volume those three of his numerous essays, which most clearly define his position touching the scope and method of political economy.† The first of these, "*Ueber einige Grundfragen der Socialpolitik und der Volkswirtschaftslehre*," is already well known and furnishes an appropriate title for the volume. It was originally published in Hildebrand's *Jahrbücher* in 1874 and 1875 in reply to two articles by the late Professor Treitschke on "*Der Socialismus und seine Gönner*," which appeared in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* in 1874. The American reader will deprecate the return to the eye-destroying German lettering after the clear Latin type of the second edition of this monograph.

The second essay, entitled "*Die Volkswirtschaft, die Volkswirtschaftslehre und ihre Methode*" has enjoyed an equally wide circulation through Conrad's *Handwörterbuch* in which it appeared in 1895. In enumerating in the preface the numerous translations of this article which have thus far been published, the author alludes

\* *An Eight-hours Day. The Case Against Trade-union and Legislative Interference.* By W. J. SAXBY. Pp. vii, 133. Price, 2s. 6d. London: The Liberty Review Publishing Co., 1898.

† *Ueber einige Grundfragen der Socialpolitik und der Volkswirtschaftslehre.* By GUSTAV SCHMOLLER. Pp. ix, 343. Price, 6.40 marks. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1898.

to the fact that his American pupils have in progress an English version. It is to be hoped that they will not long delay the completion of their labors. In view of the numerous translations of the works of other German economists, Professor Schmoller has a right to feel neglected by the failure of English and American economists to translate his more important writings. At the same time our students are deprived of that clear grasp of the significance of the work of the New Historical School which only comes to most of us when ideas are presented in our native language.

The last essay in the volume, on "*Wechselnde Theorien und feststehende Wahrheiten im Gebiete der Staats- und Socialwissenschaften und die heutige deutsche Volkswirtschaftslehre*," is less well known in this country than the other two, though it was several times reprinted in Germany after having been delivered by the author on the occasion of his assuming the duties of rector of the University of Berlin, October 15, 1897. Starting out by emphasizing the contrast between the contradictory theories of rival schools and the unchanging truths of science, the address explains the prevalence of the former in the field of the social sciences by the undeveloped condition of human knowledge in this department of investigation. In a brief sketch of the development of political economy he criticises both English individualism and German socialism on the ground that they rest on unreal assumptions about human nature and industrial phenomena rather than on a careful study and analysis of the facts.

The New Historical School, he concludes, connects its economics with psychology and ethics in quite a different way from the older writers. It recognizes that economic phenomena are indissolubly bound up with the large phenomena of social life, and it tries to define more accurately the parts which morality, custom and law perform in the "mechanism of society." "The political economy of to-day has attained an historical and ethical conception of state and society in contrast with rationalism and materialism. It has changed back from a mere science of exchanges, a sort of business economics, which threatened to become the partisan weapon of the propertied class, into a grand moral-political science, which studies the distribution as well as the production of wealth, economic institutions as well as the phenomena of value and which makes man the centre of the science, instead of commodities and capital."

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A MOST WELCOME addition to the series of "Economic Classics," edited by Professor W. J. Ashley, is a translation of Turgot's

"*Reflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses.*"\* This is not merely a reprint of the faulty English translation of 1793, but an entirely new rendering based on the Robineau text in the "*Petite Bibliothèque Économique*" and compared with the original as it appeared in DuPont's "*Ephémérides du Citoyen*" in 1769 and 1770. The translator "has attempted to produce something like the effect of Turgot's style, which is, indeed, inelegant and sometimes rugged, and also very limited in vocabulary, but yet direct and clear," and by following the typography of the original has sought to preserve "something of the eighteenth century flavor." At the same time, the exact words of the original are given in foot-notes whenever there is any question in regard to the accurate rendering of the text. As a result of this painstaking attention to details we have in this translation probably a more accurate reproduction of Turgot's thought than in any French text. Its perusal justifies the editor's observation that, "in spite of Turgot's dislike for the narrow sectarian spirit of the circle that surrounded Quesnay, and the freedom with which he expressed his dissent from them on minor points of doctrine, nevertheless his whole economic thought was dominated by the fundamental physiocratic ideas; and these find in the *Reflexions* their briefest and most lucid expression."

Nine excerpts from Turgot's correspondence with Hume and DuPont, which are printed as an appendix, emphasize still further the substantial identity of Turgot's views with those of the Physiocrats *par excellence*. Here he argues that all taxation must fall on rent, assumes an inflexible and low standard of life for the laboring masses, that "wants are always the same" and looks upon social forces as quite analogous to physical forces and social laws as laws of nature. These letters are doubly interesting because in them Turgot is forced to point out how Physiocratic theory is to be reconciled with the facts of industrial life and shows a less impractical turn of mind than was attributed to him by Adam Smith.

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#### REVIEWS.

##### *Four Books in Finance.*

*Bimetallism: A Summary and Examination of the Arguments for and against a Bimetallic System of Currency.* By Major LEONARD DARWIN. Pp. 341. London: John Murray, 1897.

\* *Reflexions on the Formation and the Distribution of Riches.* By A. R. J. TURGOT. 1770. Edited by W. J. ASHLEY. Pp. xxii, 122. Price, 75c. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898.

*Studies in Currency, 1898, or Inquiries into certain Modern Problems Connected with the Standard of Value and the Media of Exchange.*

By the RIGHT HON. LORD FARRER. Pp. 405. Price, \$4.00. London and New York : The Macmillan Co., 1898.

*A Graded Banking System.* Formed by the Incorporation of Clearing Houses under a Federal Law, with Power to issue a Clearing House Guaranty secured by Pledge of Bank Assets. By THEODORE GILMAN. Pp. 230. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898.

*Thirty Years of American Finance: A Short Financial History of the Government and People of the United States since the Civil War, 1865-1896.* By ALEXANDER DANA NOYES. Pp. 277. Price, \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898.

In these days when almost every man has positive convictions about money, and nearly every book written advocates some infallible remedy for the evils threatening the material welfare of mankind, it is refreshing to find an author writing on the subject of bimetallism as coldly and calmly as if he were discussing the precession of the equinoxes. Major Darwin, if he is to be judged from this book, is a man without convictions upon the subject which he discusses. All of the questions at issue he considers with evident candor and much acuteness; his book, in fact, consists mainly of a balancing of arguments, and only here and there do his own opinions appear. Naturally, it is rather hard reading. The unsophisticated reader will frequently be greatly perplexed as Major Darwin marshals the opposing arguments before him, and will doubtless feel, if he reads the book through, that the money question is one that the gods never meant that ordinary mortals should understand. However, a man who has had some training in economics will find the book of considerable assistance. There is certainly no one book which will give an intelligent reader a better grasp of the controversy now waging between bimetallists and monometallists. The book is in sad need of an index, for the chapter headings, which form the table of contents, furnish a very unreliable clue to the wealth of material in the volume. Some of the discussion in the book is merely a reproduction of well-known arguments, but the authorities from which they are taken, as a rule, are not given. Major Darwin, has himself done some very clear thinking, and has thrown fresh light on several dark places. The average reader, however, will be unable to distinguish between the original and the borrowed content of the book.

In the opening chapters Major Darwin treats of the bimetallic

theory. After a rather feeble discussion of the so-called quantitative theory of prices, he gives it a timid conditional endorsement, holding that the cost of production cannot determine the value of the precious metals, for the reason that the number of mines cannot be indefinitely multiplied, nor can they all be worked under similar conditions. He concludes, therefore, that the bimetallic ratio will govern the bullion market until one metal is driven out of circulation; and remarks: "Monometallists ought, if they still predict the continued depreciation of silver under bimetallism, to tell us what is going to happen to the £800,000,000 of gold coins now in existence. Until they do so they have not made out their case against the practicability of bimetallism." Bimetallists, in his opinion, aim at two things, namely, to make prices more steady and to raise prices. He concludes that bimetallism at  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 would accomplish both these purposes, but the second purpose he regards as an unworthy one.

Major Darwin next discusses the choice of a ratio. He considers the arguments in favor of a low ratio, a natural ratio, and the market ratio. By natural ratio he means the ratio which the metals would bear to each other if neither were used as money. As that evidently cannot be determined, he dismisses it from consideration with a few words. As a low ratio would probably cause a rise of prices in gold countries and an injurious fall of prices in silver countries, he regards it as objectionable. France and the United States, he says, have no particular rights in the premises on account of their large stock of silver money coined at a low ratio, for that money is now largely government credit money and might be continued in circulation even after a market ratio had been adopted. By market ratio he does not in any sense mean a shifting ratio, for when once the ratio of 30 or 35 to 1 has been adopted by the leading nations of the world, the values of the precious metals will thenceforth conform to it, and no change will be necessary. The "climbing" ratio, in favor with some bimetallists, he condemns as illogical, there being no definite reason why the ratio should not climb above any fixed limit. He considers the silver question in the United States and admits the possibility of the establishment of a ratio of 16 to 1 by this country alone, but regards the success of such an undertaking as doubtful even if France were to unite with us in the effort. The balance of his argument is in favor of bimetallism at a market ratio. He contends that all the advantages of bimetallism will be gained by the adoption of the market ratio, and that no sudden change of prices would thereby be produced.

Having decided upon a ratio, he considers whether it is worth while to put bimetallism into operation. He weighs very carefully the advantages claimed for bimetallism and monometallism, and the evils attributed to each by its opponents, and reaches the conclusion that bimetallism would probably furnish a more stable standard than monometallism; and therefore that if stability of prices is desirable, the world would be benefited by an international agreement. He supplements the usual argument of the bimetallist by showing that the greater the proportion of the standard metal employed in the arts the steadier will be prices; and that under bimetallism that proportion will be much larger than under monometallism.

The historical argument against bimetallism, which is always confidently put forward by half-informed defenders of monometallism, has no weight in Major Darwin's mind. He says that Shaw's "History of Currency" and other books written in support of that view have led him to exactly the opposite conclusion. "All that is proved, in my opinion, is that without international agreement there was in past times a perpetual ebb and flow of the precious metals between countries with different legal ratios. The experiment of legalizing the same ratio in all countries was never tried. In the history of two and one-half, if not of six centuries, there is no example nor record of any change in ratio so great or so sudden as that which has occurred during the last twenty years, that is, since the repeal of the last bimetallic laws" (p. 137).

Another reference to history is equally pertinent. It is as follows: "It is said that bimetallism would be a leap in the dark, but the diagram showing the ratio in the market may well lead any one to doubt which of the two ought to be described in that way—a bimetallic currency policy resembling in many respects that which existed for centuries up to the year 1873, or a monometallic policy the full effect of which has not been observable since the abandonment of the last bimetallic laws at that date. We are now leaping into the dark, if by that is meant that unforeseen dangers may at any moment spring up in our path."

His conclusion, after examining the advantages of bimetallism, is alternative, that is, either gold monometallism should be made universal or effective bimetallism should be established. But gold monometallism would undoubtedly yield us falling prices through many decades, and we must therefore decide whether an appreciating standard is really objectionable. He next considers, therefore, the question of rising and falling prices. This is the portion of the book in which the most original thinking has been done by the author. He adheres to his usual method, weighing conscientiously

all that has been said on both sides, but comes to the rather definite conclusion that falling prices (or an appreciating standard) do most seriously retard production and interfere with the ordinary economic laws governing distribution. It is impossible to summarize his arguments in a paragraph. The arrangement of this part of his work is faulty. The chapter, for example, upon the relation of credit to prices might well have been put at the beginning of the work; and the inquiry into the question whether prices would have fallen less rapidly had bimetallism been maintained since 1873, should follow rather than precede the discussion of the effects of falling prices. He makes a very clear distinction between value and price, the latter being defined as the relation of the value of a commodity to the value of the standard. Prices, therefore, will vary with every change in the value of the commodity, and inversely with every change in the value of the standard. One who is familiar with monometallic literature will not be surprised that the cautious author in this connection indulges himself in the positive observation that "when we hear the candid monometallist remark that he is prepared to admit that the fall in average prices may have something, though it cannot have much to do with the value of gold, we can see that either he is talking absolute nonsense or else that he is giving some unknown meaning to his words" (p. 168).

Mr. Darwin's analysis of credit is not clear. He does not entirely free himself from the obscure notion that an expansion of credit is possible without an increase of standard money. All credit is essentially a promise to pay money and constitutes a demand for money even while acting as a substitute for it. He evidently has this truth in mind when he says: "If we trace credit to its roots we will find that there is always, or nearly always, some negotiation in which the possibility of having to find the coin or bullion to meet the liability must be present in the minds of the financiers engaged." He expresses dissatisfaction with Mill's view of credit that it is purchasing power like money, but does not bring out clearly the fact that it acts upon prices solely by lessening the demand for money. Nor does he make as clear as he might the important fact that while credit is the most flexible or elastic medium of exchange, yet its quantity in any country depends upon the credit machinery of the country, such as banks or clearing houses, and upon the habits and customs of the people, all of which change but slowly.

On page 223 Mr. Darwin hints at a conclusion which will quite possibly have general acceptance a few years from now. The effect

of falling prices, he says, is somewhat similar to that which would be produced by universal combination, that is to say, a restriction of the output. His reasoning fairly leads to the deduction that falling prices encourage the formation of artificial combinations. This theoretical deduction will not be despised if an era of rising prices in the near future should witness the dissolution of the numerous trusts which have been organized during the last era of falling prices. Major Darwin thinks that the ideal standard of prices lies between the commodity standard, which would give a constant price to the average commodity, and the labor standard, which would give a constant price to the output of human labor. Under the labor standard, if labor were becoming more efficient on account of inventions, prices would fall. The author is inclined to the opinion that the course of prices since 1873 has nearly coincided with the labor standard, although he admits the impossibility of arriving at a correct estimate of that standard. It is impossible to determine what will be the value of gold in the future; yet inasmuch as it is better to have rising than falling prices he decides that a market ratio of bimetallism might wisely be adopted by the world, since it would retard the downward tendency of prices and would not expose business to any new currency perils.

The chapter on foreign trade is difficult reading and is the least satisfactory in the book. The author seems to miss the bimetallic contention entirely. Few bimetallics contend that the fall of silver has forced down the price of wheat or any other commodity, yet that is the point to which Major Darwin devotes most of his argument. The fall of silver with respect to gold has merely given the producer in silver-using countries a temporary advantage over his competitor in gold countries; for he has been the first on the market with his goods, while his competitor has lagged behind waiting for higher prices, yet compelled to take the lowest. This view of the subject is very ably presented in Helm's "Joint Standard," which Major Darwin would appear not to have read.

Lord Farrer's "Studies in Currency" may be prescribed as an antidote for any aguish doubts which the reader may contract over Darwin's bimetallicism. There are no probabilities here, nothing doubtful; everything is "absolutely certain" and "perfectly clear." Yet Lord Farrer can hardly be called dogmatic, for he appears to be genuinely anxious to state his opponent's case fully and fairly, but since most of the papers in the volume were written for the London Gold Defense Association, there could necessarily be no hesitation



in the conclusions. The contents of the book are familiar to those who have followed the bimetallic controversy in England. They include the oft-quoted article on "England's Adoption of the Gold Standard," in which he combats the bimetallist's contention that England drifted into gold monometallism through ignorance; a recent paper on the "Quantitative Theory of Money and Prices," and the brochure on "What We Pay With," first published ten years ago. Bimetallism is attacked from all sides in various other papers, and considerable space is given to the India problem and to the effects of a depreciating standard upon foreign trade. Lord Farrer does not, like Major Darwin, aim at the wrong mark when handling the subject of foreign trade. He endeavors to show that a depreciating standard does not tend to stimulate exports, or give producers any advantage over foreign competitors. He half admits that theoretical considerations support the bimetallic view, and then "appeals" to facts, drawing very positive conclusions from Indian statistics. Lord Farrer, like the average man of business, is in awe of facts, but theory is "only theory." He might well ponder on what Emerson meant when he wrote that "we have facts enough, what we need is the heat that dissolves every man's facts."

The gist of Lord Farrer's monometallic argument lies in his contention that money includes all forms of credit and that therefore an alteration in the quantity of metallic money, that is, the standard of value, cannot greatly affect prices. This thought is the burden of the articles on the "Quantitative Theory" and "What We Pay With." The claim that the quantity of credit instruments in circulation must bear a rather definite relationship to the quantity of the standard money which is available for redemption purposes, he meets merely with denial. In his opinion credit is increasing in quantity day by day, and with this mushroom "money" the needs of trade are easily met, however they may multiply. This reasoning is highly theoretical, but Lord Farrer confirms it by contrasting the billions of bank deposits with the few hundred thousands of gold which are in use in England. His identification of money and credit is more than a matter of definition; it obscures a fundamental distinction between a medium of exchange universally acceptable and one of only limited acceptability; it also tends to obscure the important fact that credit of all kinds is a promise to pay the commonly accepted medium, *i. e.*, money. Lord Farrer's deductions furnish excellent illustrations of the obscurity into which a candid mind may be led by a confusion of the functions of money and credit as media of exchange. For instance, his reasoning compels

him to conclude that the free coinage of silver, since it would augment only the quantity of metallic money—a small item in comparison with credit—would not raise prices perceptibly; on the contrary, since it would probably destroy credit, there would be a great fall of prices! So there might be in case of panic, but what would be the level of prices after the panic? Would it not be considerably above the old level? Lord Farrer does not attempt to answer these questions. They are “matters of speculation on which I do not wish to dogmatise” (p. 189).

Lord Farrer belongs to the school of monometallists who believe that a general fall of gold prices is possible without any appreciation of gold. Yet on page 60 he admits that “fall of prices” and “appreciation of gold” are only “different forms of expressing the same thing.” He is led into this contradiction by his desire to prove that the recent fall of prices has not been due to a “scarcity of gold.” The simple truth that the fall in prices since 1873 necessarily means an alteration in the demand and supply relations of gold apparently does not occur to him. He insists that the fall has been due not to causes affecting gold, but to causes affecting commodities, and he finally lands in the absurdity that the values of all goods have fallen (p. 218).

The author of “A Graded Banking System” is a New York banker, who is alive to the defects of the present national banking system. His book is an effort to show how a banknote may be provided which shall be as safe and as acceptable as the present national banknote, and which shall at the same time be issued promptly and in sufficient volume whenever the needs of trade require.

The first six chapters of Mr. Gilman's book contain general observations upon the theory and practice of banking, and a comparison of the United States system with the English, French and German systems. The author then considers several remedies which have been proposed for the improvement of the United States system. The proposal to retire the greenbacks he considers unwise and useless. He accepts the Republican doctrine that the greenback can do no harm so long as a protective tariff is relied upon to furnish adequate revenue. He thinks that funding the greenbacks would produce widespread distress, apparently not perceiving that the process could be made simultaneously with an influx of gold so that no contraction of the currency whatever need take place.

On questions of monetary theory Mr. Gilman's observations are not remarkably acute or intelligent. However, he has a pretty clear

idea of the service which a banknote performs, and his book, so far as it relates to this subject, is valuable. He advocates the incorporation of state clearing houses, each clearing house to have the power to issue demand notes, and to loan them to any bank within the state, the borrowing bank to deposit current assets as security. The circulating notes issued to a bank shall not exceed 75 per cent of the estimated value of the assets deposited. These notes shall be of any denomination desired, of one dollar or one thousand dollars, and shall be receivable at par at all the national banks in the country.

Mr. Gilman is an energetic worker for his plan. He has put it into the form of a bill and appeared before the house committee on banking and currency in advocacy of it.\* In this bill a clearing house association is authorized in any city of not less than six thousand inhabitants, but the privilege of issuing circulating notes is restricted to clearing houses which effect clearings of over two hundred millions of dollars annually, or to the chief commercial city in each state; and if there are in any state two or more clearing houses having the right of issue, then the comptroller of the currency shall divide the state into clearing house districts, and banks in each state or district shall do business only with the clearing house of issue in their state or district. The circulating notes shall be redeemed on demand by the clearing house of issue, and also by the bank through which they were first paid out. The notes are to be furnished by the national government, and the comptroller of the currency is to exercise supervision over the affairs of all clearing houses as well as of banks.

Mr. Gilman's plan deserves attention. In some respects it is far superior to the plan advocated by the monetary commission, or to the plan reported by the house committee. Both these measures provide for the independent issue of circulating notes by some four thousand isolated banks under conditions which will furnish strong inducements to each bank to keep afloat the largest possible quantity of its notes. They make those notes receivable at par by all banks and by the government, aiming thus to secure for them the widest possible circulation. Mr. Gilman would secure wide currency for his notes by compelling their acceptance by banks, but he restricts the right of issue to forty or fifty institutions, and this is a very important matter. It is easy enough to devise a scheme which shall result in the abundant issue of banknotes, but it is quite another matter to provide that the issue shall be restricted whenever the occasion demands. Undue expansion of the currency volume is an evil which framers of banknote systems must always have

\* Bill H. R. 997: 55th Congress, 2d session.

in mind, for banknotes may drive gold from the country, and so embarrass the United States Treasury, quite as effectively as greenbacks, silver dollars, or Sherman notes. Under Mr. Gilman's plan the issue of notes would be in the hands of comparatively few men, and it is fair to assume that they would be financiers capable of understanding the far-reaching influences of all their operations. At a time when gold was being withdrawn from the United States Treasury for export, it would be reasonable to expect that these men would perceive the necessity for a restriction of banknote issues and would refuse applications of banks for further loans. In this respect, therefore, Mr. Gilman's plan is decidedly better than any plan which leaves the issue of banknotes entirely at the discretion of several thousand men scattered all over the country. It would seem, however, that Mr. Gilman is too anxious to make the banknote everywhere acceptable. He is of the opinion that the people of this country, having been accustomed to the national banknote, which bears the government's guaranty, will never accept any note which does not possess all of its qualifications. Hence he provides in his bill that every banknote issued shall bear the ultimate guaranty of all the banks of the country. If a bank fails, and its assets do not suffice to redeem the notes, all the banks of its state or district shall be assessed to an amount sufficient for the purpose; and if such assessments shall prove inadequate, then the banks of all other districts may be called upon to make up the deficiency. These provisions to secure the stability of the note run counter to the ordinary ideas of a credit instrument and seem unnecessary. They are likely to work harm rather than good, for they would render it possible for banks to put their notes into circulation in localities far remote from their places of business and would thus retard the process of redemption. There is no reason why an Illinois banknote should circulate far from the State of Illinois, for the government supplies an abundance of currency for distant payments. It would surely be sufficient if merely the banks of each state guarantee the notes of their own clearing house; the interest of the public would be protected, and the notes would have as wide a circulation as the needs of business would require. A banknote is essentially a credit instrument issued to supply a local need for currency; the moment several thousand banks are allowed to issue notes given forced circulation by means of extraneous guarantees and semi-legal-tender attributes, the notes become almost indistinguishable from legal tender money, their volume not promptly contracting with the ebb of business.

Nevertheless, Mr. Gilman's plan must be regarded as encouraging

evidence that practical men of affairs are beginning to understand not only the necessity for a revision of the banking laws, but the nature of the problem which is to be solved. If his plan were adopted the country would undoubtedly have a much better bank-note than it has at present, and it is quite probable that minor defects would be perceived and corrected before any mischief had been done. Mr. Gilman is certainly right in his belief that the circulating notes provided by such a system would tend to render impossible such panics as the business of the country passed through in 1873 and 1893. As a protection against panics due to a dearth of media of exchange his system would undoubtedly prove effective. The defects of his plan would appear only after the panic and in ordinary times. The student will be pleased to find in Mr. Gilman's book a summary of several plans which have been suggested in recent years for the issue of clearing house currency. He could have added much to its value if he had inserted a chapter explaining in detail the issue of clearing house certificates in New York State during panic years. These issues, as Mr. Gilman says, suggested to him his plan for a banking system.

It is a rather large and difficult subject which Mr. Noyes has undertaken to cover in his "Thirty Years of American Finance." In his preface he says, "I have made no attempt at an abstract economic argument; therefore the reader will not find in these pages a discussion of theories, such as bimetallism and protection. That the narrative should repeatedly encounter these and other theories in active operation is, of course, inevitable; the purpose and result of such experiments will be fairly and fully examined; but this book is designed to do no more. It is not an economic treatise; it is a history of our own times." These limits are what we have a right to expect in any history. Nevertheless it is impossible for a historian to avoid in his interpretation of events taking sides for or against theories whose practical results he describes, and his explanation of events will nearly always be colored by his theoretical views. Mr. Noyes is a firm believer in the gold standard; he has no sympathy whatever with bimetallism, and paper money is to him merely a synonym for inflation. Inevitably his history reflects his point of view.

His book opens with a chapter on the inflation period, in which he describes briefly the industrial and financial condition of the United States after the war, the panic of 1873, and the passage of the Resumption Act in 1875. The story in the next two chapters of the resumption of specie payments is interesting. It is full of

information which the average well-informed citizen ought to possess, but does not. The Bland-Allison Act and its effects are the subject of Chapters IV and V. The Legislation of 1890, the Panic of 1893 and the Bond Issues of '94-95 are the concluding chapters of the book.

Mr. Noyes writes clearly and has certainly made an interesting book. He necessarily pays considerable attention to the part which John Sherman has played in the making of our financial history, and that statesman's remarkable policy affords material for interesting reading. Mr. Noyes, while he gives due credit to Sherman for his firmness and intelligence as Secretary of the Treasury, does not spare him when discussing his behavior in Congress. Nor does Mr. Noyes hesitate to lay the responsibilities for our blunders in finance fully upon the Republican party. That party, he says, was clearly responsible for the Bland-Allison Act and the late plea of justification that it was necessary in order to block a free coinage act, is shown to be unfounded. Republican leaders in 1878 supported the Silver Act on the ground that it would give to the country the kind of currency which was needed. In 1890 these same leaders were no wiser. Even President Harrison thought that the purchase of silver by the issue of legal tender notes would have a beneficial effect. Mr. Noyes' description of the events leading up to the Silver Purchase Act of 1890 is one of the best chapters in his book. His story of the bond issues of 1894-95 is also excellent.

Although Mr. Noyes' book is well written and is full of information, nevertheless its effect on the whole is disappointing. One who reads history wishes to know the causes of events, and a historian does not do a first-class piece of work unless he points out the real causes. Mr. Noyes gives only the impression that the financial system of the United States has been saved from ruin during the last thirty years by a series of happy accidents. Just as the country was about to go into bankruptcy as the result of mistaken legislation, Providence interferes, sends large crops to the United States and small crops to Europe, and so causes an importation of gold, which gives the country another lease of life. This is the impression which the reader of Mr. Noyes' book is pretty certain to have at the end. In fact, it is almost the only general impression or idea which the reader will get from the book. That is its main defect. Interesting as it is in some of its narrative, it does not bring out clearly any general ideas, except, perhaps, the general conclusion that inflation of the currency is always dangerous. The treatment of the subject by years rather than by topics will prevent the average reader from retaining much

of the story. In discussing the resumption of specie payments, for example, Mr. Noyes dwells in considerable detail upon the crop failures in Europe, the volume of imports and exports, the condition of various trades, the weather in England, the foreign exchange market, the cotton trade, bank reserves, the stock market, immigration, railroad building and speculation, political conditions, and election results, the silver agitation, etc. Now, undoubtedly all these things had something to do with resumption, but the fact of most importance at the time is lost to view in the multitude of details. The reader is certain to get the impression that the success of resumption somehow depended on all these conditions, which the author so skillfully describes; whereas, as a matter of fact, the success of resumption was assured the moment that the treasury, without causing any inflation of the money supply, had gotten into its possession over one hundred million dollars in gold. Mr. Noyes, on page 71, says: "The problem of resumption had been solved for 1880 and for many subsequent years by a happy accident of nature." This means that the problem would not have been successfully solved if our exports of wheat and other food stuffs in 1879-80 had not caused a large gold movement toward this country. Such an opinion has no foundation. Resumption would have been successful even if the world's crop situation had not been unusual in those years. The movements of gold, like the movements of wheat, are in obedience to laws governing the value of gold and wheat. Gold did not come to this country in 1879 and during the following years because our exports exceeded our imports, but because the level of our prices made gold more valuable here than in other countries. If we had not needed the gold in our business we should not have imported it. It was the expanding business of the country, due to the revival of credit consequent upon the resumption of specie payments, which caused the importation of gold. Our large exports of wheat, of course, played a part in the business, but were not the real cause of gold imports. Mr. Noyes gives the reader the impression that the accident of large exports was the significant feature of the time. Throughout his story we run constantly upon the same assumption, that gold movements depend upon a fortuitous balance of trade and that, therefore, the stability of our financial system is hinged upon the accidents of nature or the relative consumption demands of our people and foreigners.

Mr. Noyes seems to believe that the movement of foreign capital toward the United States is indicated by the imports of gold. After explaining the exportation of gold in 1882, which he attributes to

the large importation of foreign goods, "excessively stimulated by the protracted speculation for the rise in almost every market," he remarks that "this decided change in foreign trade meant, of course, that the country's command over foreign capital was lessened." It meant nothing of the sort. It meant that the level of prices here as a result of silver inflation and speculation had got above the European level, and that adjustment by a movement of gold was inevitable. Abundant harvests here and crop failures in Europe could not have prevented gold exports from this country, unless, indeed, the situation increased the demand for money here and brought prices down to the European level. Our command of foreign capital is not lessened by the export of gold any more than by the export of wheat. It is not affected by either operation.

The author's mercantilistic conceptions involve him in other errors. The slump in prices at the end of 1882 he ascribes to over-production. He writes: "In short, production in the majority of industries had outrun consumption; a readjustment of prices was inevitable." Here we have the popular, most easily understood explanation of hard times. Because one man can produce more than he wants to consume, it is easy to believe that all men, or society, can do the same thing. Theoretically, Mr. Noyes' explanation may be correct, but there is another that fits the facts better and does not involve the assumption that production may lead to poverty. Production in this country in 1881 and the early part of 1882 was conducted upon an artificial level of prices. Producers who depended upon European markets were certain to suffer, for they were forced to accept prices which did not cover their money costs. Similarly all producers suffered the moment that gold exports brought prices here down to the level prevailing in other gold-using countries. Production had not outrun consumption; it had simply exceeded the consumptive demand at American prices. This explanation of the depression in 1882 Mr. Noyes might well have given with emphasis, for it lays bare one of the worst evils of the policy of silver inflation, which he denounces at every opportunity.

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*American History Told by Contemporaries.* Volume II. *Building of the Republic, 1689-1783.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Pp. xxi, 653. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898.

The second volume of this most serviceable collection of sources



is prompt in making its appearance. To the student of American history the century with which it deals has been a puzzling period. That it was of vast importance as a formative epoch has been understood; the difficulty lay in tracing the developmental movements. The first half of this new volume goes far toward accomplishing the editor's purpose: "to help bring out the significance of the growth of an American spirit which made union and independence possible." The second half is devoted to depicting not the military annals, but the real life and spirit of the Revolution.

Following the Practical Introduction, devoted to some valuable suggestions as to sources and their use, the main groupings are indicated by these headings: The Separate Colonies; Colonial Government; Colonial Life; Intercolonial, 1689-1764; Causes of the Revolution; Conditions of the Revolution; Progress of the Revolution. In the Introduction the classification of sources, the hints as to the resources of various libraries, the lists of books and of reprints of collected historical material will be found invaluable. The rest of the introductory matter, however, ought to be labeled: "Not intended for those who have read Volume I, Part I." The method of rewriting is a bit too mechanical; it suggests the system of interchangeable parts, an economy long practiced in the manufacture of mowing machines and bicycles, but a novelty in book-making. A few marginal directions to the type-setter would make the MSS. of Volume I serve equally well for its successor.

A matter of great satisfaction is not simply the interest but the authoritativeness of most of the extracts. Is New England life to be presented? Upon that perplexing episode, Salem witchcraft, light is shed by the Rev. Deodat Lawson, whose wife and daughter, it was said, had fallen victims to the machinations of the witches. The records of the witches' trial are given at length. Then follows the public humiliation made by Judge Sewall because of his share in the condemnation of the witches. Governor Cranston reports to the Lords of Trade in defence of the threatened privileges of Rhode Island. Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth in similar fashion reports for New Hampshire. Governor Roger Wolcott's letter gives a sketch of Connecticut history in the middle of the eighteenth century. Captain Goelet writes a realistic account of "Boston, the Metropolis of North America," while Daniel Neal, the historian, and John Adams present clearly and philosophically the distinctive features and advantages of New England.

Another example, chosen almost at random, may serve to show how these sources light up the dark corners. Despite all that has been written about the loyalists it would be hard to find elsewhere

in the compass of ten pages the basis for an understanding of their temper, their motives and the treatment to which they were subjected. From the letters which passed between "R. H." and the Committee of Correspondence for Kent County it is evident that those committees not only organized the revolutionary sentiment but that they brought severe pressure to bear upon those whose opinions did not square with their own. The dilemma in which a minister of the Church of England found himself placed after "the fatal day of the Declaration of Independence" is vividly brought out by Parson Odell's account of his arrest and exile. A bitter attack upon the Tories, published in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, shows the almost frenzied hatred which even in the middle year of the war the loyalists still excited.

Still more interesting is Judge Curwen's account of the lot of a refugee in London. He tells of the Americans whom he met, of the financial straits to which he was reduced until given an annuity by the government. Yet through it all he looks upon his London life as a banishment, and finds no support for his drooping courage but the hope of once more revisiting his native land.

A glance through the chapter headings cannot fail to convince the student and the "general reader," as well, that a rich treasure-house is here opened. The extracts number 220, varying in length from twenty lines to eight or nine pages. As a rule they are quite a little shorter than those comprised in the earlier volume. In literary character and quality they are of the most diverse. Court records, governors' messages, town-meeting proceedings, letters, selections from diaries, ballads, satires, etc., all find a place. Yet so orderly is their grouping that from this volume alone an intelligent reader may give himself the delight of calling vividly to mind a century's varied thought and action.

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*L'Ouvrier Américain.* By E. LEVASSEUR. Two volumes. Pp. 634 and 516. Price, 20 francs. Paris: L. Larose, 1898.

Professor Levasseur, the author of the present work, is already well and favorably known to American students of economics through his numerous works in economic history and social statistics. He is an indefatigable worker. His "*Histoire des Classes Ouvrières en France*" and "*La Population Française*," the former in four and the latter in three large volumes, are monuments of industry and investigation.

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Professor Levasseur first came to the United States in 1876. In 1893 he returned for a more extended visit. Though brought by the desire to see the Chicago Exposition, he came specially commissioned by the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences of France to study and report upon the conditions of labor and industry in the United States. In the execution of this task he spent much time visiting important industrial establishments, interviewing economists, leaders of labor organizations and officers of institutions of all kinds and collecting documentary material. Since his return to France he has devoted himself to the study of the economic problems of America, his numerous university courses having related chiefly to this subject. The results of this study and investigation are now given to the public in the present work.

To his task Professor Levasseur brings the qualities of both a trained statistician and an economist. As a statistician he has made every effort to marshal in an orderly and unbiased manner all available data throwing light upon the economic conditions of laborers in America. As an economist he seeks to determine the causes for the conditions that as an investigator he finds to exist, and to some extent to predict the probable movement of economic forces in the future.

As a result of his efforts, there is presented in these two volumes an enormous amount of information concerning the conditions of the working classes in this country. As a foreigner he sees many things of significance which, on account of their very commonplace character, escape the attention of American students. That there are errors among this collection of details goes without saying, but as errors of detail only, they do not prevent the work as a whole from being the most complete and correct analysis of labor conditions in America that has yet appeared. The work shows a thorough knowledge of the best sources of information. Professor Levasseur has not, however, been dominated by his authorities. The extent to which he made personal investigations of conditions and his acuteness as an observer, are constantly in evidence.

The author has not made the mistake of considering the labor question as one merely of wages, hours of labor and strikes. He has seen that the problem really involves every element in any way entering into the lives of workingmen. The following list of chapter titles shows how comprehensively the work has been carried out. Part I, entitled "The Workingman at Work," contains chapters on the progress of industry in America during the past fifty years; the productivity and equipment of labor; labor and factory legislation; labor organizations; wages of men; wages of women and children;

the sweating system; competition through immigration, negro and prison labor; strikes, lockouts, boycotts and blacklists; industrial depressions and unemployment, and a critical concluding chapter on the causes regulating nominal wages. Part II, entitled "The Workingman at Home," treats, in separate chapters, of workingmen's food, clothing and housing; of building and loan associations; savings and mutual benefit societies, and real wages and the relation of earnings and expenditures. Part III is devoted to a consideration of particular labor problems. It is in this part, and in the concluding chapters of the first two parts that the economist replaces the statistician. The special subjects treated are large fortunes and democracy in America; the protective system; poor relief; employers' work for their employees and profit sharing; co-operation, arbitration and conciliation; socialism, and finally, as a general summing up under the title of "the author's point of view," the condition of the American workingman at the present time and twenty or thirty years hence.

In a work of this character the main interest to the American student naturally lies in the general conclusions of the author concerning conditions and problems here, and their contrast with conditions in his own country. Thus, he wishes to know, for example, what is the author's opinion regarding the relative standard of living of the working classes in the two countries, their rates of wages, condition of food, housing, etc.; what has been in his opinion the effect of the protective system on labor; his attitude concerning labor organizations, etc. These matters are very fully discussed by the author, particularly in the concluding chapters of the second volume.

With regard to wages, Professor Levasseur finds that nominal wages in the United States are about double the wages in France. He also finds that objects of ordinary consumption by working people, excepting dwelling houses, cost less in the cities of the United States than in those of France, and that as a result not only the nominal, but also the real wages of American workingmen are more than double those of French workingmen. Having a higher actual wage, the American workingman, in general, lives better than the European; eats more substantially; dresses better; is more comfortably housed, and more often owns his dwelling; spends more for life insurance, etc.; in short, he has a much higher standard of life than the European workingman. From this point of view, says the author, it may be rightly said that the cost of living is high in the United States, and that while the purchasing power of money is not any less than in Europe, the

expenses necessary to maintain a certain rank in society are much greater.

While wages are higher in the United States, Professor Levasseur also finds that the productivity of the American workingman is, on the average, greater than that of most European workers. Being accustomed to work with powerful, ingenious and rapid machinery, the former is in general more industrious and active.

With regard to labor organizations, the author finds that in America their chief object is collective resistance or opposition to the power of the employer, rather than mutual benefit, such as sick relief or insurance, as is the case in France. Professor Levasseur believes that labor organizations should be permitted, and that they should be given a legal status in all the states. At the same time, the law should impose upon them serious conditions of responsibility, and should prevent them, as much as possible, from degenerating into engines of oppression.

In expressing his views of the future, the author says that American industry will continue to found numerous large establishments and enlarge those which exist, and for this purpose will have more and more recourse to association. As the industrial enterprises become larger and require more capital, it will be necessary to organize stock companies, which have the triple advantage of facilitating large accumulations, of limiting individual risks, and of affording opportunities for the investment of small savings. American industry will continue to perfect its machinery which will operate to concentrate manufactures more and more. "Machinery, association of capital, concentration," says the author, "will be the pole of attraction of American industry during the first quarter of the twentieth century." These circumstances will have a tendency to lower the prices of manufactures in America, notwithstanding the high wages paid, and as a consequence the author believes that the chances are favorable for a successful conquest of foreign markets.

Taken all in all the author presents a very optimistic view of the future of American industry. This is particularly emphasized in his concluding remarks, in which he says: "I have no doubt but that the twentieth century, notwithstanding the claims of agitators, will see a still greater increase in the prosperity of the United States. Even if that century will not succeed any more than the present in finding a chimerical solution for the adjustment of pending questions, it will be very likely to improve in many ways the present condition of the working classes, as has

already been done, especially in the last half of the nineteenth century."

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*Township and Borough.* Being the Ford Lectures, delivered in the University of Oxford in the October Term of 1897. Together with an Appendix of Notes relating to the History of the Town of Cambridge. By F. W. MAITLAND. Pp. 220. Price, 10s. Cambridge: University Press, 1898.

The second series of the Ford lectures was given at Oxford last winter. By a pleasant act of inter-university courtesy Professor Maitland of Cambridge was the lecturer and a group of questions suggested by the early history of the town of Cambridge was the subject. Moreover a running fire of half-sarcastic banter of the institution in which he was speaking must have added considerably to the interest of the lecturer to his academic hearers. He apologizes for talking of the open fields of Cambridge by asking what else the Oxford men have left him to talk about—"What other fields has Oxford left unworked?" and remarks that "the oldest of all inter-university sports was a lying match."

And to tell the truth, his text needed all of Professor Maitland's usual humor to lighten it up as a subject for semi-public lectures. Interesting as the general subject of economico-legal history is, and important as the points at issue seem to those of us who are already interested in them, yet the particular stage which the investigation has now reached, largely negative and entirely critical, is not such as to make it very well suited for even an academic audience. The broad generalizations and suggestive analogies which made the lectures of Sir Henry Maine so interesting and exhilarating to people previously uninterested belong now to a past age of study. They have been largely discredited, or have come to be recognized as merely interesting facts and superficial similarities among distantly related institutions. We have advanced to a part of the field which requires more detailed study and a more critical method; and this kind of work is more fitted for print than for the spoken word. Professor Maitland's subject is the distinction, in their origin and in their history, between the merely rural manor and the organized town community. His study of this problem is based principally upon a number of previously unpublished and almost unused documents from among the records of the borough of Cambridge. His

transcription of these with accompanying comments makes up about half of the volume, filling up, that is, somewhat more space than does the text of the lectures.

His three fundamental propositions are negative in their nature. The town did not differ from the country, the urban from the rural community, by the absence in the former of arable and pasture lands. On the contrary the town, borough, city, had its open fields, in fact, *was* largely a group of open fields only with part of its surface covered more or less thickly with houses. Secondly, the difference did not lie in the original possession by the borough of a clearly recognized legal unity. The discrete interests of the burghers are abundantly evident. And, thirdly, there was probably no clearer ideal of actual ownership of land in the case of the town than of the country community. Much of the lecturer's time is devoted to demonstrating the existence and extent of the agricultural side of the mediæval borough. Even after its arable lands had been utilized for other purposes, or enclosed, or absorbed as the separate possessions of individual owners or of corporations, its pasture lands remained open, and even subject to common ownership and usage. As late as 1803 it was necessary to settle by law-suit the ownership of the residuum of the open fields, after allotments were made to private owners of all distinct pieces. The court decided in favor of the municipal corporation. This case gives Professor Maitland his principal texts, the slow growth of the idea of corporateness, and the equal vagueness of the mediæval conception of the ownership of land. But the conception of corporateness grew in the borough, in the rural community it did not. Its growth was a result of economic and moral life, of the life of trade and industry, of the requirements of the more active, varied and interdependent urban existence. So by the fifteenth century, by the time when royal grants of incorporation began to be issued, the feeling of collective unity had obtained a reality that made the grant of incorporation only the registry of a growth and possession already attained. Similarly with the conception of the ownership of the land, when King John granted to the burgesses of Cambridge the town with all its lands and other appurtenances, it is probable that neither the king and his officials, nor the burgesses themselves had any clear idea in whom the title to the land inhered, or of there being any such question involved. The *dominium* included the germs of land ownership as it did of political rule. It was in the exigencies of later town history that the idea of corporate ownership as of corporate existence generally gradually took shape. Or, as Mr. Maitland expresses it, the



struggle of ownership and rulership to free themselves from each other was finally successful.

The other main question dealt with is the actual origin of the towns, or rather of certain "old county towns," as Professor Maitland restrictively describes them. He reverts to his theory propounded in "Domesday Book and Beyond," and elsewhere, that these towns were deliberately founded, built, and supported for purposes of national defence. "The shire maintains the burh; the burh defends the shire." He acknowledges the weight of the criticism of this view, and himself modifies its applicability, but on the whole does not seriously change it. He brings into greater prominence, however, the concomitant characteristics of the borough as the principal market of the shire and the meeting place of its moots, as well as its stronghold. He points out that although such towns were originally deliberately organized for tribal or national purposes and policy, mainly military, and on this account had a special peace and protection, yet all their subsequent history was modified by the growth of trade. Then the town got a charter and gradually became indistinguishable in all its salient characteristics from other towns which had no such military origin. So Professor Maitland's theory applies to fewer towns than he seemed before to claim, and it controlled less exclusively the destinies of those to which it did apply.

That the book is a valuable contribution to the subject goes almost without saying. But with all our admiration of Professor Maitland's work, we are impressed with the feeling that this book is less fully thought out, less carefully constructed, and less condensed in matter and value than most of his work which has preceded it.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

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*Pure Economics.* By Professor MAFFEO PANTALEONI. Translated from the Italian by T. Boston Bruce. Pp. xiv, 315. Price, \$3.50. London and New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898.

This translation of the "*Principii di Economia Pura*" ought to receive a hearty welcome in England and America. Professor Pantaleoni is widely known in and outside of Italy as a well-equipped and efficient teacher, writer, editor and reformer. The book before us is written in the author's usual clear and forceful style, with a wealth of diction well preserved in the translation. We do not know where else in English can be found so compact and excellent an epitome of modern economic theory. A few parts, indeed, are out of keeping



with the best modern thought, a fact which only goes to show that economic science has not stood still in the nine years since the original work appeared. The references to economic literature are, however, pretty well brought down to date, and a page is added on Pareto's "Theory of Rent." Historical footnotes form an essential and valuable feature. Professor Pantaleoni takes great pains to give due credit to all who have contributed to the progress of economic science, associating with each theorem the name of the writer who did most to establish it. The author's knowledge of economic literature is prodigious. So far as we are capable of judging, his criticisms are discriminating and impartial, save, we believe, in the case of Böhm-Bawerk (pp. 63, 130, 169, 252, 253). Aside from the classical economists, the authors who have most influenced Professor Pantaleoni seem to be Ortes, Gossen, Dupuit, Ferrara, Jennings, Jevons, Menger, Walras, Wieser, Sidgwick, Marshall and Pareto. As this list shows, mathematical modes of thought attract him. His book is full of the mathematician's spirit of precise formulation and demonstration, of keen analysis, which separates out and studies each factor by itself. But the book is meant for general readers and mathematics are very properly restricted to their most elementary forms. Diagrams are used lavishly, but the calculus not at all.

The work consists of: Part I, on Utility; Part II, on Value, and Part III, on "Applications of the General Theory of Value to Determine Categories of Commodities." A more complete, instructive and suggestive presentation of the modern theory of utility could scarcely be found. The author even goes a little beyond the strict limits of his subject to discuss some of the more purely psychological problems involved. Wants imply *pain*. Their satisfaction implies a reduction of that pain. This reduction or extinguishment of pain is, according to Professor Pantaleoni, probably all that is meant by "pleasure." Jennings' classification of wants is adopted. They relate either to one of the five special senses or to "common" sensations. The latter wants are the more urgent. "The desire to gaze on statuary or flowers soon vanishes under the influence of hunger, thirst, cold, excessive heat, or sickness" (p. 49).

Emphasis is laid on the fact that the distinction between real and "imaginary" wants is of little consequence. "Probably a large proportion of the medicines of to-day are commodities of a kind which a later generation, if more enlightened than ourselves, will pronounce to be imaginary" (p. 61). Yet they find a ready market and possess high economic value. The principle here involved (that it is the estimate rather than the reality which counts in the market) seems to us to have a wider application than Professor Pantaleoni has given it.

Is it necessary, for instance, to predicate of the "*homo oeconomicus*" perfect foresight and papal infallibility (pp. 87, 240); or to insist that future pleasures or pains must rationally be considered equivalent to present ones except for the uncertainty of being realized (pp. 27, 89, 253)?

Part II contains a luminous criticism of various methods of measuring wealth and as good a discussion of the determination of value as elementary methods afford. For simplicity, no account is taken of the discrepancy between the curve of utility and the curve of demand (p. 155, note). The important and intricate subject of "complementary" commodities (such, *e. g.*, as a horse and a carriage) is a favorite theme with Professor Pantaleoni. The difficulties of apportioning total utility among complementary commodities are discussed (p. 82), and Gossen's and Wieser's peculiar views set forth (p. 218). The application of these ideas to the complementary commodities, "labor and capital," is highly original and suggestive (p. 290).

A very conspicuous merit of the work is the co-ordination of scattered theorems and the facility with which the author gathers up a number of propositions under a single generalization. Exchange and production are both cases of cost or sacrifice and for many purposes can be treated under the same head. In its most general sense, "value" does not imply exchange between two persons and so does not (as is generally believed) imply the existence of "society" (p. 127). It only implies the sacrifice of one commodity for another. Again, utility and cost are interchangeable by reversing signs. This enables us to reconcile doctrines apparently opposed and to translate every theorem of utility into a corresponding theorem of cost (p. 170). A number of examples are given (pp. 173-9).

The law of *relative* cost is carefully expounded. The richer bidder at an auction sale succeeds in carrying off the costly painting or book, not because he wants it more than his rival, but because he needs the money less (p. 130, note). One nation may have the advantage in producing a particular article and yet prefer to import it, for the simple reason that its advantage in producing *other* articles is still greater. Hence the general rate of wages in a country cannot greatly affect its foreign trade, because it affects all lines so nearly alike that the *relative* advantage is not disturbed (p. 179, note). The parts on foreign trade receive an added interest in the English edition, owing to the extent to which the author has used Marshall's unpublished "Pure Theory of Foreign Trade." We have here, as it were, some advance sheets of Marshall's second volume.

Part III purports to treat of the value of particular commodities, *viz.*, money, land, capital and labor. It is occupied chiefly, however,

with the problems of interest, rent, profits and wages. These concepts, unlike the "values" previously considered, include a *time* element. Their discussion is the least satisfactory in the book. Capital is defined as "direct [*i. e.*, 'enjoyable'] commodities which supply the immediate wants of men whilst they are engaged in the preparation of other commodities" (p. 244), a definition as barren, it seems to us, as the wage fund theory which it is designed to bolster up. These parts of the book are the only ones where obscurity and inconsistency can be found. First we are told that wages are paid out of a previously accumulated stock, the "*wage fund*" (pp. 246, 303). Then suddenly, that "the capital which remunerates labor is a flow and *not* a fund" (p. 307). At first, capital is to consist solely of enjoyable commodities (such as food, clothing, furniture, etc.), but afterward we hear of "capital, such as public stocks, shares, bonds, lands, etc." (page 261, note). On one page "capital awaiting investment exists in the form of money" (p. 262) and on the next "capital and money are essentially different."

The discussion of money is clear, concise, and, as we believe, correct. It is explained that the cost of money is a dead loss (p. 238) and that money has no residual utility (p. 76), the reason, in both cases, being that a small quantity is just as effective as a large. Residual utility exists for the individual, however (p. 77, note). The Quantity Theory, Gresham's Law, the functions of money, the properties of good money and the reasons for the acceptability of money are sketched with a master's hand.

We believe we express not only our own opinion but that of most of Professor Pantaleoni's readers, when we say that his compact little treatise is one of the most valuable acquisitions of modern economic literature.

IRVING FISHER.

Yale University.

## MISCELLANY.

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### FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION CONFERENCE.

The Fourth Mohonk International Arbitration Conference was held June 1, 2 and 3, by invitation of Mr. Albert K. Smiley, at the Mountain House, Lake Mohonk, New York. About one hundred and fifty delegates were present. College presidents and professors, prominent lawyers, business men, manufacturers, clergymen and editors predominated. Colonel George E. Waring, Jr., of New York, presided. The other officers of the conference were Dr. Henry K. Carroll, of the New York *Independent*, secretary; Mr. Joshua L. Baily, Philadelphia, treasurer; business committee, Professor John B. Clark, Columbia University (chairman); Hon. John I. Gilbert, Ex-Congressman William J. Coombs, of Brooklyn; President E. D. Warfield, of Lafayette College; Mr. Herbert Welsh, Philadelphia; Mr. Everett P. Wheeler, Dr. Josiah Strong, Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood and Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

By a decision of the business committee, all reference to the war in progress between the United States and Spain was eliminated in order that the fundamental principles of international arbitration might be discussed without raising unnecessary contention as to current events, there being a number present who strongly justified and supported the war, and quite a number, including some members of the Society of Friends, who were opposed to this, as to all other wars, and it was thought that a discussion carried on by the representatives of these two classes would not advance the objects of the conference. The results fully justified the wisdom of this policy.

Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood made the opening address, in which he sketched the progress of the cause of international arbitration and called attention to the fact that not less than fifteen international disputes or differences had been made the subject of arbitration during the past year, and that since the beginning of the present century over one hundred cases had been successfully arbitrated, thus demonstrating the practical utility and progress of the movement.

The first evening session was devoted to a discussion of the general features of the subject. The speakers were Chancellor McCracken, of the University of New York; President A. H. H. Raymond, of

Union College; Rev. W. H. P. Faunce, D. D., and Professor E. R. A. Seligman, of Columbia College. In the course of his remarks, Professor Seligman said: "The later middle ages mark the growth of the national idea; before that there were no nations; a man was a citizen of a town, not of a country. From the sixteenth century onward, we note the development of militant nationality. In the eighteenth century came the reaction. Nationality gave way, in the theory of the French philosophy, statesmen and economists, to cosmopolitanism. The nation was to disappear in the world-empire, but here also we note a reaction. What is needed is not abandonment of patriotism, not disappearance of nationality, but a newer synthesis, which will preserve the national idea by keeping it side by side with the universal idea. International arbitration preserves the nation, but advances the cosmopolitan idea."

At the Thursday morning session the subject for discussion was "A Permanent International Tribunal." Hon. Robert Earle, formerly Justice of the Court of Appeals, made the opening address, in which he sketched the ground for his belief that such a tribunal was now possible. He maintained that the educational influences had been so strong in recent times that no war could occur in the future, whenever the dispute could be arbitrated, as the conscience of the world will prevent war. He was decidedly of the opinion that such a tribunal should have jurisdiction over questions both of honor and territory, and that these decisions could, and would be enforced without difficulty. Walter S. Logan, Esq., of New York, advanced the idea that if England and America should establish an international tribunal that it would not be long before other nations would have recourse to it to settle their disputes. The other speakers of the morning were President E. P. Potter, Ex-Congressman Coombs, Ex-Senator Gilbert and Mr. W. Martin Jones, of Rochester, New York.

The Thursday evening subject was "An Anglo-Saxon Alliance." Mr. Everett P. Wheeler, in opening the discussion, maintained that the change in public sentiment toward Great Britain during the last two years leads us to hope that the present administration may yet negotiate an arbitration treaty with that country, which would be better than the last treaty when amended by the Senate. "Just as the Alabama treaty finally adopted was better than that adopted by Reverdy Johnson. At a time when sympathy was especially welcome, we received it from England, and this we shall not forget. The great advantage of such a treaty lies in the security it affords against hasty action in time of excitement. The government of Great Britain, like our own, is a popular government,

which is swayed to a great degree by popular feeling. The constitution of each country imposes checks upon the manifestation of this feeling and gives it time to deliberate. A treaty of arbitration will do the same in the field of international relations and allow men to go about their business secure of peace."

Among the other speakers at the various sessions of the conference were Mr. Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia; Rev. W. M. Meredith, Bishop E. G. Andrews, of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Professor Jean C. Bracq, Rev. R. S. McArthur, D. D.; Dr. Josiah Strong, President E. D. Warfield, Rev. Amory H. Bradford, Professor John B. Clark and Mr. George E. Horr, of Boston.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

*Philadelphia.*

## NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

### AMERICAN CITIES.

**Greater New York.**—*Power of Appointment of the Mayor.* With the incoming of the new administration in Greater New York, the mayor began the process of replacing existing heads of departments with his own appointees. This wholesale displacement does not seem to violate the standards of public opinion in American communities. On the contrary, it is regarded as a matter of course that the new mayor should place persons in harmony with his own political views in the places at his disposal. The fact that the efficient working of these departments requires permanency of tenure does not seem to enter as an important factor in the reasoning on municipal affairs. The enormous appointive power which the mayor wields is readily seen from an examination of the list given as follows:

<i>Title of Officer.</i>	<i>Term Years</i>	<i>Salary.</i>
Corporation Counsel . . . . .	4	\$15,000
Chamberlain . . . . .	4	12,000
President of the Board of Public Improvements . . . . .	6	8,000
Commissioner of Water Supply . . . . .	6	7,500
"    Highways . . . . .	6	7,500
"    Street Cleaning . . . . .	6	7,500
"    Sewers . . . . .	6	7,500
"    Public Buildings, Lighting and Supplies . . . . .	6	7,500
"    Bridges . . . . .	6	7,500
Three Commissioners of Parks . . . . .	8	5,000
Six Art Commissioners . . . . .	Indef.	No salary
Fire Commissioner . . . . .	6	7,500
President of the Board of Taxes and Assessments . . . . .	6	8,000
Four Commissioners of Taxes and Assessments . . . . .	4	7,000
Five Assessors for Local Improvements . . . . .	Indef.	3,000
Two Commissioners of Charities . . . . .	6	7,500
One Commissioner of Charities . . . . .	6	2,500
One Commissioner of Correction . . . . .	6	7,500
President of the Board of Health . . . . .	6	7,500
Two Health Commissioners . . . . .	6	6,000
Two Commissioners of Buildings . . . . .	6	7,000
One Commissioner of Buildings . . . . .	6	3,500
President of Dock Yard . . . . .	6	6,000
Two Commissioners of Docks . . . . .	6	5,000
Four Police Commissioners . . . . .	4	5,000
Commissioner of Jurors for Manhattan and the Bronx . . . . .	Indef.	5,000
Two Commissioners of Accounts . . . . .	Indef.	5,000
Chief of Bureau of Municipal Statistics . . . . .	4	3,500
Three to Six Commissioners of Statistics . . . . .	Indef.	No salary

<i>Title of Officer.</i>	<i>Term Years</i>	<i>Salary.</i>
Three Civil Service Commissioners . . . . .	Indef.	No salary
Twenty-one Members of the School Board for Manhattan and the Bronx . . . . .	3	No salary
Forty-five Members of School Board for Brooklyn . . . . .	3	No salary
Nine Members of School Board for Richmond . . . . .	3	No salary
Nine Members of School Board for Queens . . . . .	3	No salary
Marshals . . . . .	6	Not fixed
Inspectors and Sealers of Weights and Measures . . . . .	Indef.	Not fixed
<i>Municipal Court.</i>		
Two Justices for Brooklyn . . . . .	2	\$5,000
Three " " Queens . . . . .	2	5,000
Two " " Richmond . . . . .	2	5,000
<i>Board of City Magistrates.</i>		
Twelve Magistrates in Manhattan and the Bronx . . . . .	10	\$5,000
Six Magistrates in Brooklyn . . . . .	10	6,000
Three Magistrates in Queens . . . . .	10	5,000
Two Magistrates in Richmond . . . . .	10	5,000
<i>Courts of Special Sessions.</i>		
Five Justices, First Divisions . . . . .	10	\$5,000
Five Justices, Second Division . . . . .	10	6,000

*Issue of Municipal Bonds.\** On July 19, the board of aldermen approved the issue of bonds to the amount of \$23,000,000, to cover the cost of many public improvements. The council and the board of estimate and apportionment had acted favorably upon this bond issue in May; but the approval of the board of aldermen was delayed by the opposition of the members from the Borough of Brooklyn, who contended that it was unfair to vote so large an amount for improvements almost entirely within the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx. The principal expenditures to be met from the proceeds of these bonds are as follows:

East River Bridge . . . . .	\$2,487,823
Aqueduct Commission . . . . .	1,000,000
Little Italy Park . . . . .	1,738,362
New School Houses . . . . .	2,301,586
Re-paving streets and avenues . . . . .	1,800,000
Metropolitan Museum extension . . . . .	1,200,000
Harlem Bridge at First avenue . . . . .	1,483,000
Harlem Bridge at 145th street . . . . .	1,150,000
Elm street widening . . . . .	2,695,548
Additional Croton water stock . . . . .	1,650,000

*City Debt.* Because of the belief, still entertained in certain quarters, that the city has exceeded the limit of indebtedness fixed by the constitution, the comptroller of the city addressed a communication to the governor on the thirteenth of July, urging that the governor should lay before the extraordinary session of the legislature a bill to

\*Communication of James W. Pryor, Esq.



provide that the indebtedness of counties included in the Greater New York should not be charged against the debt-incurring capacity of the city. As the governor did not act upon the suggestion, the matter did not come before the legislature.

*Assessed Valuation for Purposes of Taxation.* Under the requirements of the charter, the board of taxes and assessments submitted to the municipal assembly on the fifth of July, the "assessment rolls," showing the assessed valuation of real and personal property, for the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx. This is the valuation upon which, after revision by the municipal assembly, the taxes for 1898 will be levied. The rolls show an increase of about twenty million dollars in the valuation of real estate, and an increase of about a hundred and twenty-six million dollars in the valuation of personal property, as compared with the valuation for last year. In the Boroughs of Brooklyn, Queens and Richmond taxes for 1898 were levied last year; and, consequently, these boroughs are not included in the tax levy this year.

*Citizens' Union.* The Central City Committee of the Citizens' Union has declared in favor of the nomination by the union of candidates for the judgeships and the state assembly. The election will not take place until November; and the subject of nominations does not excite much interest at this time. No municipal officers are to be elected.

*Extra Session of the Legislature.* The extra session of the legislature called by the governor to assemble on the eleventh of July, was of particular interest to this city, because of the passage of Governor Black's so-called "force bill." This bill, passed in conformity with the recommendation of the governor, has been unanimously condemned by newspapers and citizens whose opinions are not determined by partisan considerations. The new law provides that the governor shall appoint an officer who shall be known as the "State Superintendent of Elections for the Metropolitan Elections District," who, in turn, is to appoint seven hundred "deputy superintendents of elections of the metropolitan elections district," to serve for forty days ending with election day. Of the deputies, six hundred must be equally divided between the two principal political parties. In effect, these deputies are special police officers to prevent criminal violations of the election law. The territory covered embraces the city of New York and the parts of Westchester county and Queens county that are not included in the city. The theory upon which this law stands is that the election law will be enforced better by officers who serve temporarily, and who owe their places directly to the parties, than by the regular police force. It ignores the obvious

fact that the principal cause of dishonesty and error in elections is the complicated election law which has been imposed upon the state by the machines in their efforts to prevent independent action, and to compel the voter to be a good party man, whether he will or no. Under the judgment of the court of appeals, three of the candidates of the Citizens' Union, elected last November, have secured offices which were wrongfully held for months by Tammany candidates upon the strength of false returns which even dishonest election officers could not have made under a common-sense system. It is believed that the new law is a violation of those provisions of the state constitution which require that special city bills shall be submitted to the local authorities of the cities affected.

**Massachusetts.—Street Railways.** The annual report of the Massachusetts Board of Railroad Commissioners\* contains interesting data on the development of the street railway system during the year 1897. At the present time the Massachusetts companies own 1206 miles of street railway line, 207 miles of second main track and 103 miles of side track, making a total length of 1516 miles of track. The gradual substitution of electricity for horse power is shown in the fact that while the lines operated by the former increased 107 miles during 1897, those operated by the latter decreased 24 miles. The dividend paying capital of all the companies was \$28,425,350, upon which an average rate of dividend of 6.91 per cent was paid. The amount of capital yielding no dividend was \$4,244,922.50. It is interesting to note that the percentage of gross earnings expended for operating expenses is steadily decreasing. Thus, in 1888, the operating expenses amounted to 81.07 per cent of the gross earnings; in 1897 to but 68.95 per cent. The volume of street railway traffic naturally varies with the density of population of the district. Thus, in 1897, the Boston companies carried 647,083 persons per mile of main track operated; whereas the Lowell and Suburban railway carried but 129,211 persons.

**Boston.—Park System.** The annual report† of the Board of Metropolitan Park Commissioners gives evidence of the approaching completion of the great park system in and about the city of Boston. The work was begun in 1893, and since that time about \$7,000,000 have been appropriated. The magnitude of the task is shown in the fact that at the present time the commission has under its charge nearly 7000 acres of park district. The greatest change accomplished during

\*Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Railway Commissioners. Report for 1897. Mr. William A. Crafton, Secretary.

†Report of the Metropolitan Park Commissioners for 1897, John Woodbury, Secretary.

the last year was the completion of the Revere Beach improvement. The sea coast at that point, until 1897 a sandy waste, has been improved by means of driveways and promenades, the construction of a great bath-house with one thousand rooms, and the addition of buildings such as restaurants and children's playhouses. This spot is rapidly becoming a great popular resort for the people of Boston. On warm summer days it is estimated that between 75,000 and 100,000 people make use of the various facilities offered. The bath-houses and other institutions constructed by the commission are more than self-supporting. It is not the intention of the commission, however, to derive any profit from this source. Whenever profits are forthcoming, the prices will be reduced to make the institution self-supporting but nothing more.

*Benefit from Municipal Federation.* The experience of Chelsea with the new metropolitan water system, established by the several municipalities of Greater Boston, illustrates the advantage of co-operative action by municipalities in the establishment of great public works for mutual use. Chelsea has had only a distributing system, obtaining its water first from Charlestown, and then from Boston after the annexation of Charlestown to the latter. With the same conditions continuing the estimated annual cost for water would have been \$64,000. With the present system the average annual cost to Chelsea for its supply of water from the metropolitan system will be about \$19,400; a saving of about \$44,600 annually, besides the advantage of a better quality of water and a more abundant supply.

*Chicago.\*—Street Railways.* When the amendment to the Horse and Dummy Railroad Act, commonly known as the Allen law, was passed in 1897, it was generally anticipated that the Chicago street railways would at once proceed to obtain fifty year extensions of their ordinances from the city council. The franchise period under which the present system has been built was twenty years.

There has been a grave hitch in the proceedings, however, owing to the uncompromising attitude of Mayor Harrison backed up by a sufficient number of aldermen to prevent the passage of an ordinance over the mayor's veto. Under these circumstances the year wore away and once more the council has adjourned for the summer vacation with nothing done for the street railway companies. Important ordinances granted in 1883 will expire in 1903, and the time is getting too short to be pleasant to the stock and bond holders. The situation has induced a somewhat more pliant frame of mind on the part of the

\*Communication of Newton A. Partridge, Esq.

managers of the companies. Various investigations of their affairs and financial condition have been undertaken, the most important of which is the one now in progress by the Civic Federation. This latter is the outgrowth of action which resulted in the attendance of Mr. C. T. Yerkes, by invitation, at the meeting of the federation held June 9, 1898, who explained the attitude of the companies and their managers toward the city and the public. He then warmly professed the desire to have such an investigation made as would result in the publication in an authentic form of the true condition of the affairs of the street railway companies so that their relations to the city and the public with reference to compensation, etc., might be properly understood and placed upon the true basis, free from mistake or prejudice.

Following that meeting, a sub-committee was appointed to pursue the investigation, but it is yet too early to outline what success will be reached. The long-delayed report of the "Harlan" committee appointed by the mayor and city council last fall has just appeared, or rather, is just about to appear, some proof slips only having yet been given out. The political aspect of the street railway question is quite mixed. Many conventions of both parties have denounced the Allen law and demanded its repeal, and many legislative candidates have been instructed to vote for a repeal of the law; but quite a number of the old members who voted for it have been renominated by both Republican and Democratic constituencies. It looked at one time as though the question would be one of the prominent party issues in the next campaign, but this now seems doubtful.

*Primary Election Laws.* The primary election laws passed by the special session of the legislature of Illinois during the winter of 1898 have been tested at the primaries held by each of the leading parties before the city election in April and the fall election in November, 1898. This has given some opportunity to show their workings. A better test would have been made if the war had not so completely absorbed public attention. The control of the primaries has been placed, under certain restrictions, in the hands of the regular election officials, which prevents "brace" primaries. The regular party authorities are largely recognized in the call for holding primaries, fixing polling places and boundaries of primary districts and the selection of the particular judges of election who hold the primaries. The law contains many penal provisions under which quite a number of criminal prosecutions have been instituted with good effect.

As no person can sit as a delegate in a party convention unless he holds a certificate of election from the judges of the primary election,

who are also judges of the regular elections, "packed" conventions are no longer possible. The seating and unseating of delegates by the arbitrary act of a committee on credentials selected for that purpose has passed away, permanently we hope.

*Civil Service Reform.* The condition in Chicago as to civil service reform is somewhat anomalous. The present mayor was not elected as a friend of the law and many of his prominent supporters and appointees are bitterly and avowedly hostile to it. The corporation counsel, for instance, has fought the law both in and out of court. At the same time, he claims to be the legal adviser of the civil service commissioners by virtue of the position he holds as head of the law department. The value of investigations into infractions of the law can easily be foretold. As attorney for the accused, he attacks the law and the power of the commission. As legal adviser of the commissioners, he assures them that they have no right to act in the matter. At this time, they seem too much inclined to suffer themselves to be guided by his advice.

A criminal prosecution for an interesting and somewhat curious violation of the law is now in progress. During an examination for the position of patrol sergeant in the police force, two of the applicants transposed names. The only identification of the person examined consisted in filling out and signing application sheets serially numbered which, when filled out and signed, gave certain particulars concerning the applicant. Then the serial number was written by the applicant upon each page of his written examination. The application thus signed and numbered was enclosed by the applicant in a blank envelope. The examination papers, upon which no names appeared, were turned over to the examiners to be marked, and these marks were identified by the number on the sheets alone. After the marks had been returned to the commissioners, the envelopes were opened and the corresponding names were affixed to the marks. Both of these applicants have been indicted and held to bail, but their trials have not yet been reached. It is due to the commission to say that this prosecution is upon their initiative, and that they have appointed special counsel to attend to the cases. It is also due to them to say that two suits are now pending in the supreme court which were brought by them to extend the operation of the civil service law to the offices of city clerk and city collector. In both these cases the corporation counsel defends and seeks to have the law declared invalid.

*Baltimore.—New Charter.* In the May, 1898, number of the *ANNALS* Dr. J. H. Hollander, of Johns Hopkins University, presented a brief outline of the new charter of the city of Baltimore. The instrument

as framed by the commission has been accepted by the state legislature, and now constitutes the fundamental law of the city. There are several features of the charter that deserve more than passing notice. Every student of municipal government must agree that it contains many admirable features. Thus, the separation of local from state and national elections is in close harmony with the best experience of American municipalities. Again, the provision that franchises be granted for limited periods, not exceeding twenty-five years, subject to renewal for a similar period upon revaluation, is excellent. The commission has failed, however, to protect adequately the city in merely providing that franchises be sold at public sale. A provision should have been inserted that the return for such franchises be calculated on the basis of the gross receipts of the company enjoying the privilege.

By far the most disappointing features of the charter, however, are those which relate to the organization of the city government, the constitution of councils, of administrative boards and the powers of the mayor. As regards the legislative department the charter provides for two chambers, the first branch to consist of one member from each ward of the city; a resident of the ward assessed with property to the amount of \$300. Each member of this branch is to be paid a salary of \$1000 per annum. The second branch is to consist of nine members with the same salary, two to be elected from each of four electoral districts into which the city is to be divided; the president to be elected at large for a period of four years, which is also to be the term of the other members. The term of the members of the first branch is two years. In providing for a bicameral city legislature the commission has failed to profit by the experience of American as well as European cities. Neither principle nor practice justifies this system when applied to city government. With the restrictions contained in our state constitutions, as well as in the city charters, there is but little danger of that hasty action which it is the function of the bicameral system to guard against. The great danger of this form of local organization is in the dissipation of political responsibility which it inevitably brings with it. With the city legislature organized on this principle there is a constant shifting of blame and responsibility from one branch of the council to the other, until the population is completely at a loss to determine where the fault lies. The position of the municipality in its relation to the state, the functions which it has to perform and the relation of the inhabitants to their city government, all demand simplicity of organization and a ready determination of responsibility. The commission has further undermined this principle of responsibility by dividing the appointing

power between the mayor and the second branch of the city council. It is interesting to note the words of the report of the commission: "The charter submitted places the power of appointing the heads of all departments and their respective sub-departments in the chief executive of the city, the mayor, where it properly belongs. The commission has not taken the extreme position of making the mayor absolute in regard to this power of appointment. His appointments must be confirmed by the second branch of the city council." What the commission has, in reality, done has been to place in one clause the power of appointment where it properly belongs and to destroy that power in another. It would have been far better to have placed the power of appointment in the council alone or in the mayor alone than to attempt a combination of the two. Such a combination inevitably leads to dickerings between mayor and council which seriously affect the efficiency of the public service. The experience of Philadelphia has been conclusive on this point. The compromise between mayor and council places second-rate men in charge of municipal departments. It is to be regretted that a body of men of the standing and ability of the Baltimore commission should have been led into adopting a system which stands condemned on its own record.

*Cincinnati.\*—Session of State Legislature.* The biennial session of the legislature, which ended on April 26 last, will be remembered as one of the least harmful to Cincinnati's interest. Mention has already been made of the "Ripper" bill reorganizing the principal administrative board of the city.† This act has recently been upheld by the Supreme Court, and although a motion for a rehearing is pending, the new board believing itself secure in office has proceeded with zeal to make a sweeping change of office holders.

Much legislation of a general character especially beneficial to the city was enacted. Among these salutary measures was the following: a New Primary Election Law providing that all nominations for city and county offices shall be made at primary elections held on the same day by all parties, under the supervision of the Board of Elections. In case the controlling committees of the different political parties notify the Board of Elections ninety days before the primary day of their intention to hold a convention, the delegates to the conventions will be chosen at primary elections held under the supervision of the Board of Elections. This will do away with the former practice of the different "machines" appointing delegates to the conventions. It is doubtful whether either party will ever avail itself of the privilege of making nominations directly

\* Communication of M. B. May, Esq.

† See *Annals*, Vol. xi, p. 427. May, 1898.

at the primaries. Both Republican and Democratic parties have this year decided to hold conventions.

Another measure of general public interest is the park bill, which provides for a referendum on the proposition of voting \$2,000,000 for park purposes. If the plan is accepted, a park commission will be appointed to extend the present system.

The Cincinnati Southern Railroad is also the subject of a referendum. The trustees of the sinking fund and of the railroad are authorized to negotiate for the extension of the present lease, which shortly expires. Their contract before becoming operative must be ratified by the electors. At the same time a proposition to guarantee \$2,000,000 terminal facility bonds will be voted on.

While the legislature failed to pass a civil service law, it mitigated its offence by refusing to cripple the corrupt practice act. The civil service reformers may have an opportunity of accomplishing their object if they take advantage of the law providing for the appointment of a commission to bring about uniformity in municipal administration. This commission is to present to the next legislature, which convenes in 1900, a uniform system of municipal government.

**San Francisco.—New Charter.** The inhabitants of San Francisco have finally succeeded in adopting a charter under the new charter-framing clause of the constitution. The constitution of California gives to all cities with a population of three thousand or over the right to frame their own charters, a board of freeholders being elected for this purpose. The charter, thus framed, must be accepted by the people at a popular election. Three such charters have already been rejected. The only feature of exceptional interest is the wide extension of the referendum in municipal affairs.

Section 21, of Article 11, provides that, "Every ordinance involving the granting by the city or county of any franchise for the supply of light or water, or for the lease or sale of any public utility, or for the purchase of land of more than fifty thousand dollars in value, must be submitted to the vote of the electors of the city and county at the election next ensuing after the adoption of such ordinance. If a majority of the votes cast upon such ordinance shall be in favor of the adoption thereof, the board of election commissioners shall, within thirty days from the time of such election, proclaim such fact, and upon such proclamation such ordinance shall have the same force and effect as an ordinance passed by the supervisors and approved by the mayor."

The scheme of government as provided in the instrument, while profiting by the experience of many of our Eastern cities, is exceedingly complex and to the laymen most confusing.



## FOREIGN CITIES.

**Berlin and Paris.—Financial Condition.** In the tenth volume of the "Bulletin of the International Institute of Statistics" Professor Lexis makes an interesting comparison between the financial condition of Berlin and Paris. He clearly points out the danger of comparing the figures as reported in the financial reports of the two cities. The systems of accounting are so different that it requires most careful discrimination to avoid misleading conclusions. Taking, for instance, the year 1892-93, we find the total income of the city of Berlin \$21,000,000 in round numbers, the total expenditure \$19,500,000. In Paris, on the other hand, the total income is over \$70,000,000, the total outlay about \$66,000,000. A little closer examination, however, will show that these figures require considerable modification in order to be made comparable. In the first place, the system of accounting in Berlin groups quasi-public works under a special account, known as the "City Works Account." The items of income and expenditure under this head do not enter into the general budget; in fact affect it only in so far as there is a deficit or a surplus from any of these sources. Thus any large sums expended for the maintenance of the city gas works and the still greater income derived from this source, do not figure in the general budget. This fact, alone, would tend to diminish the total income and expenditure as reported in the general budget of the city. In Paris, on the other hand, many of the public works, which in Berlin are managed by the municipality, are under the control of private corporations, who make a direct return to the city for the privileges granted. Under this system, however, the inhabitants of Paris pay more for certain public services than those of Berlin. If, therefore, we find corporations enjoying public franchises making greater returns to the city treasury of Paris than the profits of similar works under municipal control in Berlin, it is to be remembered that this is done at the expense of the inhabitants. Such factors must be taken into account in judging of the financial status of a municipality.

Eliminating, for the time being, considerations of this character, and bringing the income and expenditure accounts of the two cities to a common basis, we find the total expenditures of Berlin about \$22,500,000, the total expenditures of Paris \$64,500,000, representing a per capita expenditure of \$13.63 for Berlin, \$26.32 for Paris.\* From these figures it will be seen that the per capita expenditure of Paris is more than double that of Berlin. One of the reasons for this surprising difference in the expenditure accounts of the two cities is that in matters of general city improvement Paris expends far more liberally

\*Population of Berlin 1,650,000; population of Paris 2,450,000.

than Berlin. The main cause, however, is to be found in the expenditure of the two cities for police purposes, and that necessitated for the payment of interest and the liquidation of the funded debt. The debt of Paris amounts to about \$390,000,000, while that of Berlin is but \$59,000,000. In order to meet the fixed charges of this indebtedness the budget of Paris was compelled to provide \$21,500,000 in 1892, whereas the expenditure for the same purpose in Berlin was but \$3,500,000.

For police purposes Paris also expends a far larger sum than Berlin, due partly to the fact that the Prussian state makes a far greater contribution to the expense of maintaining the police system than is the case in France. Thus in 1892 Paris expended some \$4,500,000 in maintaining a police system, whereas but \$650,000 was charged to the same item in the Berlin budget.

Examining for a moment the income account of the two cities, one is immediately impressed with the fact that in Paris the income from taxation represents a far larger percentage of the total income than is the case in Berlin. Thus in 1892 the total income from taxation in Paris was \$37,000,000, about two-thirds of the total ordinary income, whereas in Berlin the receipts from the same source were but \$9,000,000, which was less than half of the total ordinary income. This is due largely to the fact that in Berlin various public works furnish a greater surplus than is the case in Paris. It is interesting to note, furthermore, that the income from taxation in Paris is derived largely from the *octroi*, or indirect tax upon the necessities of life, whereas in Berlin taxation is almost exclusively direct, that is upon property or income. The per capita indirect tax in Berlin amounts to but 7½ cents, in Paris it is \$12.50. The elasticity of indirect taxation of this character has made it possible for Paris to constantly increase the *octroi* without arousing violent opposition on the part of the population. In Berlin, however, where each increase of taxation immediately affects the great mass of property owners, it is impossible to make taxation as fruitful a source of revenue as the best financiers would desire. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that the system of indirect taxation which obtains in Paris is a serious burden to the working classes, as it greatly increases the cost of living and has seriously affected the standard of life of the population. These are all elements, however, which it is difficult to weigh against one another. It requires a broad view of the whole situation in order to pass any opinion upon the relative financial condition of the two cities.

## OCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

**Charity Clearing House.\***—The Civic Club of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania (including the two cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny), has inaugurated a plan for promoting the practical co-operation of charitable organizations and the elimination of that element of the poor who make a practice of living on charity by forming a Charity Clearing House through which all applications for charitable relief and aid must pass. The plan was tried with success on a limited scale in Allegheny under the administration of Mayor William M. Kennedy, the chairman of the club's committee having the matter in charge.

The committee has sent to every organization, church and society, affording charity relief of any kind, a list of questions, to place it in possession of the information needed to make the plan a success. The committee has also issued the following circular:

"We have been requested to take steps to secure the organization of all the charities in the cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny, so that each may know from what sources an applicant or recipient is receiving aid. The indiscriminate bestowal of charity fills our streets and almshouses with paupers, encourages idleness and begging.

"It is not purposed to curtail or in any way interfere with your work, but, with the assistance of all, to so formulate the work that a complete record will be kept in such a way that no one can receive aid from more than one source without being discovered. It is a well-known fact that to-day families are being kept in our cities in very comfortable circumstances by receiving aid from many sources.

"Large sums are spent by a number of societies in investigation, the results of which are only useful for the present purposes of the one making the inquiry. If this same work were done by a central organization, in which all had a common interest, and to which all could apply, the record of the investigation would be useful so long as the subject lived. This record should be equally accessible to every person. Not only will this result in a large saving of money, but will relieve us from the uncomfortable feeling that we are being constantly imposed upon by unworthy persons.

"We hope at no distant date, if you will give us your help, to have all the charitable work carried on in our cities so systematized that by sending the name and address to a central office you will in a few hours be fully informed as to the worthiness of the one about whom

\* Contributed by Hon. Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

you inquire. Within a short time you will be asked to send a representative to a convention at which will be taken final action to carry out the purposes toward which we are now working."

**Civic Ideals.**—Mr. Frederic Harrison spoke recently to the students of the University Extension Society's Summer Meeting at the London University on the topic: *An Ideal London*. Whatever Mr. Harrison has to say possesses a certain interest for a large circle of readers, and although he does not take up the question of the ideals underlying modern city life from a strictly economic or social point of view, some of his suggestions as to what would make modern London an ideal city are worthy of consideration. He spoke first of the past and of the great changes that he had seen in London during sixty years' residence there. He then began to upbraid the modern Londoner for his lack of pride in his city and for the absence of high ideals concerning its possibilities. Lastly he drew a picture of what London might be. Such ideals may seem to the prosaic and skeptical somewhat visionary, but they help along all the practical movements for the realization of brighter and better conditions of existence. The following is an extract from the report of Mr. Harrison's address as published in *London* for June 16, 1898:

"It was one of the weak sides of modern civilization that it failed to set any limits to city life, as they were known to the mediæval world. Of all nations the English took the least pride in her cities. The historic cities of the world seemed to embody an epoch of civilization in themselves. The ancients' very idea of civilization implied a mother city as its home. But with the English it was different. The poor countryman too often regarded London as a place where he could get busy life, variety and cheap amusement. To the rich countryman it was a place where he could buy all things that money could furnish, and when the three months' Vanity Fair was over he would rush off with his purchases. To the man of business it was a place where his toil, energy and skill would enable him to make his fortune that in his old age he might retire to some rural retreat. The city suffered within and without from this unworthy motive. It was not thus that Rome, Venice and Florence were looked upon by their citizens. Nor was London so looked upon by the citizens in the time of the Norman and Plantagenet kings, Elizabeth, and the Stuarts. The London of to-day was not a city. It was a wilderness of houses. There was an old saying that 'you cannot see the forest for trees;' so they might say of London that they could not see the city for houses.

"The ideal city, the London that is to be, would not exceed two million of inhabitants, and its area would be less than one-third. An ideal city must be controlled by limits of numbers and area. How

this would be effected neither his time nor powers would enable him to tell them. The thing was possible, and within the conditions of modern civilization.

"Why need they regard as hopeless a better state of affairs when they remembered what had taken place even in his time! Those who studied the topographical history of great cities could hardly say what bounds need be applied to the physical formation of the great cities. They had witnessed in Paris, London and elsewhere, whole areas devastated and swept away to make way for magnificent avenues, huge palaces and public structures. They had seen great crowded centres of small houses depleted, and replaced by vast blocks of tenements. This radical state of change was going on at a great pace, and was rapidly transforming London. He was no lover of tenements in themselves; the ideal tenement had yet to be built. But if people would live in cities of some millions, they must adopt the tenement system. As it was, nine-tenths of London did live in tenements or lodgings already, only the lodgings were too often small, rotten, unwholesome old houses, with only an average of about ten persons to the house, whereas there might well be fifty or one hundred. The ideal London tenement will be beautifully designed blocks, each provided with baths, lifts, library, playroom, sickroom, and even a mortuary. All those conveniences and luxuries which are now only available for the few will be available for the many by wise co-operation. With the ideal tenement system, London would be swept of one-quarter of its houses, and this enormous area could be utilized for beautiful parks and broad boulevards, even if the population continued to exceed 4,000,000 souls.

"The causes of excessive population and area were really temporary and incidental to political and economical conditions, and were always subject to reaction. He did not value Mother Shipton's prophecy that Hampstead Heath would eventually be the centre of London. The parks and open spaces should be doubled, if not trebled. There should be a park within one mile of every man's doorstep if ideal life is to be possible. One of the greatest wants of London was good playgrounds—playgrounds of the size of the Oval and Lord's. During the last few years a great move has been made in the direction of providing recreation grounds, and what has been done in Battersea, Victoria and Regent's Parks, and elsewhere, showed what they could do. But they had not used all their opportunities.

"The Thames in the ideal London would run as clear and pure as it did at the intake. The great embankment would be carried along both sides of the river the whole length of the city, with beautiful wooded avenues making it as charming as the Richmond and

Twickenham of to-day. The wharves would be carried underneath to docks, leaving the embankment clear and open for traffic. We should be carried up and down the river not by the present puffy, smoky steamers, but by swift and graceful electric launches. Steam engines of all kinds would be expelled from the city, while, in the good time coming, no smoke will poison the air from millions of houses, nor will ten thousand factory chimneys be suffered to belch forth fumes charged with soot to destroy our flowers and begrime our statues and buildings. Such desecration would seem an abomination and crime to be repressed by law. The citizens of ideal London when they read their history will hardly believe that such a thing was possible in the nineteenth century.

"In the good time coming rivers of pure water will be carried by aqueducts, as they were in Rome. Our water supply will come from inexhaustible lakes and reservoirs. Rome with its eighteen aqueducts has never been surpassed. In the good time coming they would not buy water from private speculators, and the citizens of the ideal city would be surprised at the idea that we haggled in the market for our water. As in Rome, too, baths would be established in every main thoroughfare. Pure fresh water would be regarded as a necessity of health, and as a primary public consideration. Sanitary reform will do much in the reduction of the death-rate. Sanitary science will not have said its last word until every sewer has been freed from poisonous gas, as is the sink in every well-ordered house.

"In the last one hundred years the death-rate of London has been reduced by one-half, in spite of the enormous increase in population, and during the last ten years it has been further reduced to eighteen per one thousand of the population. But with purer water, fresher air, and more open spaces, and the spread of science in preventable diseases, the death-rate in ideal London might be reduced to eight or ten per one thousand of the population, and made the most healthy spot in Europe.

"The hospitals of ideal London will not be huge palaces occupying the most favored sites to support the medical traditions, and to attract attention to themselves. A number of small accident hospitals would be erected at convenient spots throughout London, while the general hospitals would be removed to healthy suburbs, where the patients would be transferred in trains and cars with lightning rapidity by some wonderful mechanical means.

"He had no doubt that London would return to the ancient and honored custom of cremation in disposing of its dead instead of allowing the remains to decay in cemeteries in our midst and become a source of infection to all around. The ashes of the sacred remains

would be placed in urns and deposited either in the churches, in specially constructed mosques, in graveyards, above or under ground, in public or private, yet void of offence, where they could be visited by the family with perfect ease."

**National Growth.**—The annual address delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of the University of Pennsylvania on June 7, 1898, was given by Professor George Wharton Pepper, who took for his topic: "Our National Constitution as Related to National Growth," a consideration of certain aspects of the war with Spain. Of Mr. Pepper's familiarity with questions of constitutional law and of his competency to speak on this subject, there is abundant proof in the pages of the above address as published by the University of Pennsylvania. A few passages will indicate the general trend of thought throughout the address. In speaking of a century's growth in our national life and institutions Mr. Pepper reverts to the words of Washington concerning foreign entanglements and says: "To beware of the entanglements incident to foreign alliances was just such wise counsel as one would expect from the Father of his Country in speaking to the nation in its childhood. We may choose acquaintances for our children and keep them from contact with influences which seem to us to threaten harm. It can no longer be so when they have grown to man's estate. The time must come when our admonitions cease to bind them, when it is no longer possible or even expedient to attempt to control their free development. Nations, like individuals, have work to do in their day and generation. Like individuals they must make the world better for having lived in it. There is such a thing as national character, and it must be developed as individual character is developed. In all phases of life the law of growth is a law of progress through struggle: in the physical world, the moral world, the social world. No progress can be true progress unless it costs. There is, therefore, something childlike in the simplicity of those who are surprised to find that the universal law still holds and that the step from Spanish barbarism to English civilization can be taken only at the price of blood. There are those amongst us who suppose that a dynasty can be made to die without a struggle—that Spain might peacefully have been persuaded to commit suicide; that one of the proudest and least enlightened nations could have been made to humble itself under the influence of pure reason. What is there in our experience to warrant such a belief? Children continue to be born in pain. Character is still sanctified only by suffering. Society is purified only by the operation of forces which, for the nonce, seem destined to overthrow it. Our nation has suddenly awakened, we know not why or how, to a sense of her duty to civilization."

In speaking of constitutional limitations to legislative action Mr. Pepper says: "As is well known, it is the peculiar function of the American judiciary to determine whether or not an act of congress or of a state legislature is constitutional. The exercise of this vast power may be regarded as essential to a written constitution. The supremacy of the judiciary over the legislature has been our boast. . . . By a use of the judicial power that may well be regarded as inspired, Marshall (after Washington the greatest of Americans) found it possible to make of us a nation. By a wise exercise of the same power, Miller and Bradley, worthy successors of the great chief justice, have removed the barriers interposed by states to even check the flow of national commerce."

Three important decisions are then discussed by the author: the legal tender decision, the income tax decision and the recent Nebraska transportation rates decision. Emphasis is laid upon the fact that such decisions and indeed all decisions on constitutional points operate under our system practically as a part of the constitution of the future. They are therefore often essentially limitations placed upon the exercise of sovereign powers. "The greater the responsibility accepted by the courts the more unworthy of confidence our legislators become. They no longer feel themselves to be the ultimate custodians of the liberties of the people. They assume that the declaration of the unconstitutionality of an act redresses all wrongs and makes dangerous consequences impossible. That such a declaration by a court is a declaration which is of present advantage to the community no one can deny. We are apt to forget, however, that every such decision becomes a part of our constitutional law, and while it is a means of averting a present evil it may prove itself a source of serious trouble in the future. It may be a good thing to protect those who control great municipal franchises from unconscionable legislation by state legislatures, by municipal councils and by boards of aldermen. It may be a very serious thing to find ourselves hampered by a long line of decisions rendered to vindicate such rights when the time comes for our municipalities to follow the example of the municipalities of the old world and place in the hands of the people the control and exercise of these protected franchises."

To those who rely upon the constitution as a sufficient objection to interpose in the discussion of new social legislation, Mr. Pepper replies: "We have, as a nation, supposed that present conditions are eternal; that existing economic conceptions are unchangeable, and that by crystallizing them under the protection of a constitution we can check all onslaught upon them. Fatal mistake! What is a constitution that it should be so interpreted as to fetter a nation's growth



Suppose all the people say, 'We will have an income tax, and have it at once.' It is like the legal tender question. The constitutional restraint imposed by the judicial decision would quickly melt away. If not all the people, but a great majority were to raise this cry the effect ultimately would be the same. The constitution is as nothing when it ceases to reflect the nation's will. Do we delude ourselves by supposing that this nation is to be held back from territorial acquisition by the failure of our constitution to make express provision for colonial government? Do we propose to meet the single-tax advocate by telling him that even if he convinces the nation the constitutional difficulties in his way are insuperable? Do we fondly dream that we are giving a conclusive answer to the socialist when we tell him that our constitution does not permit an acceptance of his theories? Fatal misconception of a constitution! We must meet each adversary in the open and unhorse him in a fair fight—a fight fought in defence of the system for which the constitution stands. We must not take refuge behind the constitution for the sake of avoiding the fight. The constitution needs our protection. Its function is not, primarily, to protect us."

**Summer School in Philanthropy.\*** The training class in philanthropic work, recently conducted during six weeks, June 20 to July 30, by the New York Charity Organization Society, has proven a successful experiment. The members of the class, twenty-six in number besides many visitors, represented eleven states, from Massachusetts to California, and included graduate students from fourteen educational institutions: Columbia University, Yale Radcliffe College, Vassar, Brown University, Smith College, Bryn Mawr, Cornell, Franklin College, Bellevue Training School, the Universities of Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio and Leland Stanford Jr. Those members who were not graduate students represented in each case some experience in philanthropic work and were members of charity organization societies, residents of settlements, or leaders in social reform in their respective cities. How, it may be asked, was so high a standard of membership secured, including workers so widely separated as Mr. Lincoln E. Brown, of Hale House in Boston, and Mrs. Mary Roberts Smith, professor in Leland Stanford Jr. University, Miss Alice S. Taylor, general secretary of the Charity Organization Society in Providence and Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer of that city, and Miss Katherine Conyngton and Mr. E. T. Towne, graduate students in the University of Wisconsin? The answer is this.

\* Contributed by Philip W. Ayres, Ph. D., New York Charity Organization Society.

In the first place, a careful plan was outlined and a group of speakers of recognized authority in their several fields of work secured, after which announcements were made not only in *Charities* and the *Charities Review*, but also by ten or more teachers of economics in leading universities to their classes. Furthermore, starting well, the work grew as the class advanced from day to day. The plan required no tuition but that each member of the class should enter the service of the Charity Organization Society. Each was to write one minor and one major report upon some subject connected with philanthropic work in New York City; each was to have at least two weeks of actual work in the district offices of the society; each to have one or two families in special care; each was to read for general preparation Warner's "American Charities" and to visit the almshouse and jail of his community. The daily classwork and visits to institutions were arranged by subjects, the first week being devoted to the management of private charitable societies and relief agencies, the second to the care of dependent and delinquent children, the third to public charities and out-door relief, the fourth to the sick poor, the fifth to the health and street cleaning departments, improved dwellings and other municipal and social improvements, the sixth to prisons and prisoners, with a return at the close to the subject of unity and co-operation in philanthropic work. This plan, with some minor changes, was carried out. The list of major reports follows:

The Abuse of Medical Charities in New York City,  
 Trained Nursing in New York,  
 Homes for Working Women,  
 Lodging Houses for Men,  
 Treatment of Delinquent Children,  
 Kindergartens in New York,  
 Day Nurseries and Creches in New York,  
 Social Settlements,  
 An Analysis of Populations in New York,  
 The Hungarian Colony in New York,  
 The Italians of New York,  
 The Colored People of New York,  
 The Bohemian Colony in New York,  
 A Study of Food Values,  
 A Comparison of Registration in Charity Organization Societies in Brooklyn and New York,  
 Street Cleaning Department in New York,  
 Playgrounds for Children,  
 Relief Employment Bureaus and Industrial Agencies,  
 Public School Sittings in New York,  
 Newspaper Charities,  
 The Savings of the Poor,  
 A Study of the United Hebrew Charities,  
 The Financial Management of Charitable Institutions,

**Social Relationships in Small Towns,  
The Arrival and Disposition of Immigrants,  
Improved Tenements in Greater New York.**

The program of speakers and of visits to philanthropic enterprises included much of the best that New York has to offer. The superintendents of the leading societies took a cordial interest in the class. There were addresses by Mr. Homer Folka, secretary of the State Charities Aid Association, by Miss M. V. Clark, of the same society; by Mr. N. S. Rosenau, of the United Hebrew Charities; by Dr. William H. Tolman and Mrs. Fullerton, of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor; by Mrs. Lucy S. Bainbridge, of the City Mission and Tract Society; by Mr. James B. Reynolds, of the University Settlement, by Miss Mary M. Kingsbury, of the College Settlement, and by Mr. William I. Nichols, of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities. Each described his or her work, giving opportunity for discussion of the principles involved. There were also the officials of the several departments and city institutions, Mr. J. W. Kellar, president of the Charities Commissioners of the Greater New York; Mr. Robert W. Hebbard, secretary of the Board of State Charities; Colonel George E. Waring, whose administration of the Street Cleaning Department amounted to an original creation for the city, these and the several superintendents at the institutions visited aided in explaining the best methods involved in caring for their respective wards.

In considering medical and hospital work the class had Dr. S. F. Hallock, for many years connected with the New York Demilt Dispensary, and Dr. Henry S. Chapin, whose large experience among sick children makes him an authority. These two, though still young, are veterans in the service. Addresses were given also by Mr. Jacob A. Riis, Dr. E. L. Gould and Dr. J. S. Billings, the last-named, with Professor Mayo-Smith, of Columbia University, speaking on the gathering and study of statistics in a way that determined each member of the class to do his own work henceforth in a scientific manner.

A group of speakers from other cities brought to the class added intensity of interest. The first of these was Mrs. Glendower Evans, of Boston, whose description of the Lyman School for boys made the class skeptical of all other institutions for children, in which the managers said eighty per cent of the graduates do well. With the most painstaking care and careful supervision of graduates, the Lyman School is unable to report more than seventy per cent doing well, which leads to the conclusion that those who claim more really confess ignorance. Mr. Frank B. Sanborn, of Concord, Mass., gave

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a masterly address upon the curability of the insane. Mrs. Ellen C. Johnson, superintendent of the Massachusetts Reformatory Prison for Women at Sherborn, touched the hearts and consciences of her hearers by enumerating the many ways by which the soul of the criminal woman may be touched and lifted up. Dr. S. M. Lindsay, of the University of Pennsylvania, gave the closing address, showing the difficulties to be overcome by charitable workers who strive to secure co-operative action in widely diversified charities of a modern city.

As an illustration of how each of the topics was taken up and studied that of prisons and prisoners will serve. The class visited the several police courts, the station house, lock-ups, the Tombs, House of Refuge, Work-house, the Penitentiary on Blackwell's Island and Sing Sing Prison, thus observing the whole category of prison experiences. There were addresses by Mrs. Johnson, as indicated; by Mr. David Willard, teacher of the Tombs; by Colonel O. V. Sage, warden of Sing Sing Prison; and last, but not least, one of the most enjoyable trips which the class made, to Grovelawn at College Point, the home of Mr. William M. F. Round, secretary of the New York State Prison Association, where addresses were given by Mr. Round on the reformation of prisoners and care of discharged prisoners, and an address by Mr. Kimball, the New York agent of the Elmira Reformatory.

No account of this first training class in philanthropy would be complete without reference to the almost daily attendance of Mrs. Charles R. Lowell, whose kindly influence in leading each member of the class to see his individual brother in need among the poor was never failing.

The question naturally arises, what bearing has this experimental class upon the plan for an endowed school of philanthropy as suggested by Miss Richmond in the last number of the ANNALS?

If it were not already sufficiently clear before, the class has helped to demonstrate that there are at work a body of intelligent and trained people who do not feel that their studies or their work have given to them sufficient opportunity for practical observation in the philanthropic field at large. Hence it is that the charitable workers from various cities, the residents in settlements and college teachers were attracted even by this brief course. In the second place it is to be noted that the general training which the student secures in a university, with or without post-graduate work, does not fit him to take up technical administrative work in philanthropy. It is this technical knowledge of "how to do it" that is required of each new worker. Whatever school of philanthropy may hereafter be established, it should not be closely affiliated with any university or

other educational institution to which the student will go to "take a course," but rather it should hold the student to actual and useful philanthropic work, with just enough guidance to help him in his work to synthetic thought.

Such a school of philanthropy, which would not be a school at all, but merely a group of scholarships enabling its students, under a competent director, to work for certain periods in several different cities and institutions, will probably yield better results than any prolonged training in any one place. Such a group of students could at certain times in the year be brought together for class instruction, when they might be joined by the workers already started but seeking wider observation. They could thus meet several specially well-known workers, but even this should have breadth and variety in practice rather than instruction about the "defective, dependent and delinquent classes." The scholarships should be generous in amount in order to attract the highest grade of our university graduates. In such a plan everything would depend upon the care with which persons were chosen to go into special training.

The analogy of a training school for library work has been used. There are libraries that are not willing to receive the librarians trained in a librarians' school, and prefer to train their own; there would doubtless be institutions like the Elmira Reformatory, preferring to train their own workers rather than to have any one "half-spoiled" by the school. To be sure, the library training schools have aided greatly in improving the administrative work in hundreds of smaller libraries, but we do not want to start a training school that does not command the confidence of our highly specialized institutions.

To secure this confidence of the highly specialized, the writer believes that a system of scholarships, in the hands of a competent director, will avoid the evils of conventionality so likely to injure even the best group of courses that any localized school of philanthropy may be able to offer.

Where are the public-spirited men who will bless their fellowmen by establishing a group of working scholarships for the benefit of charitable institutions at large?

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WEALTH AND WELFARE.  
A STUDY IN SUBJECTIVE ECONOMICS—THE NATURE AND  
SCOPE OF ECONOMIC INQUIRY.\*

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*Chapter I.*

INTRODUCTION.

Economics, like all other sciences, is based on premises or assumptions which it does not itself question. No matter how far back the investigation is carried this necessary dependence remains. New assumptions may take the place of old ones, but the science still rests on data which it as such cannot vouch for. Built upon these premises a more or less elaborate structure of reasoning and conclusion represents the constructive achievements of the science.

There are two ways in which the science can progress.

*\*Prefatory Note.*—The following pages were written as an introduction to a larger work, the completion of which has been delayed by other interests. As I am uncertain when I shall be able to treat the subject on the larger scale which I contemplate I have followed the advice of friends to offer this introduction for publication. I make no other apology for it than this explanation of its obviously fragmentary character.

H. H. POWERS.

*Berlin, September 1, 1898.*

Starting with given premises we may reason forward to ever more remote and more detailed conclusions; or, returning to our starting point, we may work our way backward, questioning our original assumptions and modifying them as the result of wider investigation or in deference to discoveries in other sciences from which they are derived. The first process is in a sense the primary and normal one, but the second is a periodic necessity.

Economics started with such premises as were available. Popular notions of uncertain authority, conclusions of other sciences in different stages of development, and finally, laws of the mind itself which impose themselves upon the reasoning process and give no reason why, all were united in the fundamentals of the new science. The revision of these premises was inevitable and was in part foreseen, but it was necessarily long postponed. The task of drawing conclusions from the first simple premises of political economy busied economists for nearly a century. From Adam Smith to John Stuart Mill there is little change in fundamentals save the disappearance of Smith's natural theology, which necessitated but little change in the science.

But all that has changed. Two causes have contributed to turn inquiry toward the premises of economics. The first was the development of other sciences, and particularly of biology. In this field a principle was discovered whose application soon proved to be universal and its importance well nigh revolutionary. While economics may boast of having been the real pioneer in this remarkable discovery, since it was Malthus who gave Darwin his clue, it cannot be said that the science has been quick to make the revision which the discovery requires. Something of an introduction of biological terminology into economic literature has indeed testified to the consciousness of the problem, but as yet there has been no adequate or even approximate recognition of the principle of evolution, the reciprocal modifiability of nature and human nature in mutual contact, as a

premise of economics. Even at the point of most obvious contact, the doctrine of population, the radical change required by evolution is but partially appreciated.

But the revision of the premises of economics has not always been thus forced upon the science from without to the disturbance of its complacency. In large part it has found its impulse within the science itself, dissatisfied with its own conclusions. Very often these conclusions, the result of irrefragable logic, have been too much at variance with facts to justify acceptance. Hence the inevitable question: Are there no other postulates of the science, no other forces sufficiently important to account for these divergences of fact from theory and sufficiently general to permit of formulation into laws? Reduced to its last analysis, this is the purpose of the historical school, to formulate more principles, take account of more forces and so produce a science approaching more nearly in complexity to the phenomena which it purports to interpret.

More recently the impulse to examine premises has manifested itself in another form, that of a farther analysis of premises already accepted with a view to their better comprehension. Impelled by a sense of the unsatisfactoriness of economic inquiry, the inductive economist urges that the old premises were too few. To assume, for example, that men are actuated only by self-interest will not explain all phenomena. Another critic says the premises are too vague, too ambiguous. What is self-interest? Under what forms may it appear? These two lines of inquiry are radically different in method, but they have a common origin and a common object. They seek to find by an inquiry into the premises of the old political economy an explanation of phenomena which seem to contradict or transcend its conclusions. It is this last process, this effort to examine somewhat more thoroughly certain premises of economics, to which I invite attention in the present work.

If we ask in what respect the assumptions of the older science were most inadequate the reply must unhesitatingly be, in the subjective or psychic factors. The excessive simplification of the "economic man" was suggestive of incompleteness at the outset, but the conception was in reality far more incomplete than it seemed. The few terms used to represent the multitude of psychic phenomena were not analyzed or even satisfactorily defined. As a consequence, reader and writer played fast and loose with them, confusing each other and even confusing themselves. This neglect of subjective phenomena, however, was not an oversight. Mill at least distinctly discountenanced any attempt to extend economic inquiry into this field. The two opportunities to do so occurred in connection with consumption, which is the goal of economic effort and the source of economic incentives, and value, which is the shadow that coming consumption casts before. Both these avenues of approach he distinctly strove to close up, and that with a peremptoriness which is as significant as it is surprising. Value he declares to be merely ratio in exchange. The inevitable suggestion that a ratio implies some quality or characteristic, which is the basis of comparison he avoids, and in his well-known statement that there can be no general rise in values he by implication at least declares all inquiry into the nature of this basal fact irrelevant to political economy. On the subject of consumption he does not stop with implications.

"Political economy," he declares, "has nothing to do with the consumption of wealth further than as the consideration of it is inseparable from that of production or that of distribution. We know not of any *laws* of the *consumption* of wealth as the subject of a distinct science: they can be no other than the laws of human enjoyment."

The content of this statement, which is often re-echoed by Mill's applauding disciples, hardly seems to be such as to warrant its peremptoriness and its all but disdainful italics.

Suppose that "the laws of the consumption of wealth" are "no other than the laws of human enjoyment" that is surely not disparaging to their importance, nor is it an obvious reason why they are not "the subject of a science" whether "distinct" or not is small matter. The implication is strongly that in importance these laws are second to none of those that interest us. If they are not known they are not therefore unknowable. Mill's well-meant effort to limit the field of economic inquiry has but served to point out the very direction where extension was indispensable.

"Value is a ratio," says Walker. Yes, but a ratio with reference to what? When we say that one thing is worth twice as much as another do we mean that it is twice as large or twice as hard or twice as heavy as the other? Evidently none of these things. To say that it is twice the other simply, which is what the above definition reduces to, is to evade the question. Twice the other in what respect? Twice the other in exchangeability, say Mill and his followers; twice the other in command of gold. The insertion of a third arbitrary term creates a diversion. We now have two ratios instead of one and, busied in comparing the two, we forget that exchangeability is itself based upon this same elusive characteristic of value, and we fancy we have an explanation. Between initial curiosity and final explanation there are usually, on long lines of investigation, one or more way stations where inquiry is side-tracked and where even thoughtful minds will for a time rest content as though they had reached their destination. It is clear that the statement, value is a ratio, is both non-explanatory and incorrect. Like many other things value may be quantitatively expressed and may give occasion for comparisons, but these comparisons are not the essence of the thing compared. As well might we try to explain weight by calling attention to the fact that some things are heavier than others.

This deliberate attempt to confine inquiry to the objective phenomena of economic life was doomed to failure. Its

unsatisfactoriness was too apparent. The first to break away was Cairnes, whose services as the founder of the subjective economics have not been sufficiently recognized. They are confined, illogically enough, to the explanation of cost. What is cost, asks Cairnes; wages, profits and rent? None of these; these are rewards. What then? Cost consists of the sacrifices which men undergo to obtain wealth which are classified as labor, abstinence and risk. These are the ultimate, the only true elements of cost. It does not seem to occur to Cairnes that in rejecting Mill's analysis of cost he has introduced an incongruity into an otherwise consistently objective scheme. As Mill's conception of wealth stops with the objective, so much so that he will not even allow that labor which does not issue in objective wealth is productive, so his analysis of cost is not allowed to go beyond the *things* which are parted with as a condition of securing wealth through production. In a word, the elements of cost must be objective elements, and it is not easy to see what other elements could be found than those mentioned by Mill. Of course such an analysis is most unsatisfactory. It never gets at true cost at all, but stops with a consideration of the exchanges incident to production in which true or ultimate cost is more or less faithfully reflected. But after all, is this enumeration of the proximate objective counterparts of real, *i. e.*, subjective cost any less satisfactory or ultimate than the corresponding objective analysis of value or utility? Evidently it seemed so to Cairnes. At any rate it was only at this point that he felt impelled to convert the elements of his problem into terms of psychic experience. I will venture the suggestion, however, that Cairnes looked with peculiar complacency on this part of his work and felt with regard to it more than with regard to other parts, the wage fund for instance, that he had reached a finality that was both incontestable and significant.

I need refer but briefly to the work of Jevons and the

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Austrians. The fame of their brilliant achievements is too present with us to call for extended remark. Thanks to their investigations, value is seen to be, not a ratio based on an unanalyzed characteristic, but the characteristic itself shown to depend upon the subjective state of man. So completely has this conception taken possession of the economic consciousness that it strikes us as a startling anachronism when some one inadvertently asserts that there can not be a general rise in values. Did not the past deter us with its warning we might be tempted in our satisfaction over these achievements to venture the opinion that, "happily, there is nothing in the laws of value which remains for the present or any future writer to clear up; the theory of the subject is complete." But let us refrain.

The subject of value could not be really explained without an analysis of utility. The study of utility involves a study of the enjoyment of wealth. The utility of a good is one aspect of its meaning in terms of subjective experience. Since value is defined in terms of utility, to understand it we must understand utility and the law which determines its variations. It is hyperbole to call the few principles which this incidental study of utility has disclosed "a theory of consumption," as one writer has done; they constitute at best but the rudiments of such a theory; but they make such a theory inevitable. We do know of "laws of the consumption of wealth" and the validity and importance of such laws is admitted. Their amplification and fuller formulation is only a question of time.

The economist looks out upon a vast aggregate of mysterious but presumably purposeful activity. What is it all for? Eventually it becomes clear that men are trying to secure enjoyment and avert discomfort. How do they do it? In the main by modifying the things that constitute their environment, making useless elements serviceable and noxious elements harmless; that is, by producing wealth. Suppose we undertake to analyze the process and estimate

its results. The estimates are made piece by piece, in local activities, each turning out its peculiar product. We are at a loss to express our total. We have sheep and oxen, wheat and corn, tools and furnishings and fabrics, all with their attractions, but so very dissimilar. There is the suggestion, too, that a different assortment, or one differently proportioned would have been preferable. How are we to know, since there is the utmost variety of opinion as to the relative importance of these various things? Furthermore, a man who has sheep for his part in the whole transaction deems himself less well remunerated than one who has fabrics. The question calls for settlement, but the mere enumeration of goods throws no light upon it. The bewildering total furnishes no other criterion for homogeneous estimate at first than a vague consciousness on our part that they are in general more or less attractive to ourselves.

But, observed more closely, this general attractiveness seems to be the common quality we seek. All these goods excite human desire, and that in a measurable degree. Put an obstacle in the way of obtaining one of these articles and men will overcome it and secure the prize. Increase the obstacle beyond a certain point and they will forego the satisfaction of its possession. The maximum obstacle which will be overcome measures the maximum desire which it excites and approximately, the satisfaction which it can confer. Here, then, we have a common term, value. Will not the aggregate value of the articles included in our enumeration tell us the amount of success achieved in the aggregate undertaking? The value of the sheep and the fabrics tells us whether a different distribution of energy would have been preferable or not and how much satisfaction each of the participants derived from his participation. In value we seem to have finality.

But perplexing facts soon disturb our conclusion. Thus, a poor family disposes of its pet lamb to an indifferent butcher and it becomes mutton on a banker's table. Its



loss caused the keenest suffering to the family, a suffering out of all proportion to the satisfaction conferred upon the butcher or banker. Doubtless the poor family consented to the bargain in the expectation of securing a more than compensating satisfaction or averting a still greater suffering, but this is not the point. We looked to value to furnish us a final criterion which should tell us exactly what a lamb signifies in terms of human welfare and it fails us. The price in this case may have been a subject of no dispute, but either value bears no constant relation to price, or if it be its constant subjective counterpart, then something else than value and widely different from it must be the real measure of human satisfaction. All attempts to estimate individual or national prosperity in terms of value or price can serve but a relative and subsidiary purpose. Back of value lies the more fundamental fact of utility, of which value is a function, and in which we naturally seek the meaning of goods.

But the utility which is the basis of value, though much more exactly corresponding to fundamental interests than anything we have so far considered, is still not quite a finality. The lamb may have been sold to avert a misfortune which did not come or which came just the same despite the sacrifice. Or the proceeds may have been spent for deceptive goods which proved unsatisfactory in the using. The utility upon which the bargain was based and values calculated was therefore out of proportion to the satisfaction actually experienced. Something of this disparity usually exists between anticipation and realization and must be considered in estimating the one by the other. The utility which we reach as we approach the subject from the side of value is a prospective or estimated utility from which we may proceed to actual utility, the satisfactions of real experience. Here at last is finality.

But this finality is the beginning rather than the end of our inquiry. The last stage reached in the development of

a science is not unfrequently the starting point in its presentation. We have worked our way back from incidentals to fundamentals. The study of these fundamentals is most important in itself. It is the only thing that can give us any ultimate facts regarding human welfare. Technology may tell us how to increase our flocks, but what does such an increase signify? Other things remaining the same it means an increase in satisfactions, but other things will not remain the same, these subjective facts among the rest. How far will they remain the same and what laws govern their variation? And even were they to remain the same, the meaning of flocks in general is an enigma until they are translated into terms of these same subjective experiences. If we are tempted to disparage the importance of such knowledge it is only because we have a certain amount of it which we have derived from experience and which serves our ordinary purposes. We have data by which to estimate subjectively the value of a good dinner. What need have we of science for such purposes? Thus we translate into the language of personal experiences the objective wealth about us, how adequately, it will be our purpose later to inquire. No process is more delicate or stands more in need of careful study than this of transmuting wealth into happiness.

I am aware that any mention of happiness as the goal of economic activity will excite nervous apprehension in some minds. The effort to be remorselessly scientific has developed a morbid sensitiveness with regard to any studies which smack of meliorism or philanthropy. Thus Nicholson declares that economic ideals must be strictly excluded from our inquiry.

"It may perhaps be thought . . . that practically the greatest good of the greatest number will be admitted by everyone as the economic ideal. But . . . maximum freedom is at least as attractive and may lay claim to equal authority. For my own part, I should not care to regard equality of distribution, even if it could

be shown to be both practicable and productive of maximum happiness, as the ultimate goal of human progress. Human energies, activities and ambitions are not to be satisfied with a dull level of placid content."

Ideals are as inadmissible for the individual as for society.

"To spend a given sum of money, so as to produce the greatest happiness to the spender, can not properly be called economic expenditure; this refers to value received for value given and not to the happiness which may follow on the completion of the bargain."

The search for happiness has indeed fallen into disrepute with economists of this stamp.

The extravagance of these statements is due to a very simple confusion of ideas. The pursuit of happiness is not science, but it may be the subject of a science. Economic inquiry can have no other legitimate ideal than to know the truth, but economic activity may and does have an ideal which economic inquiry must ascertain as the condition of any explanation whatever. The scientist must, indeed, refrain from mingling his idealizations with his investigations, must at least know and clearly state when he is doing the one and when the other, else his work will be hopelessly misleading; but this is a very different thing from trying to study human actions without paying any attention to the ideals and incentives to which these actions owe their existence and direction. Such a study may be descriptive, but it can not be explanatory. The social arrangement which is "productive of maximum happiness" may be one which we "would not care" to approve—this is small matter—but it is a matter of the profoundest importance to know whether such an arrangement regularly *is* approved in human affairs. Expenditure guided by considerations of happiness to the spender may or may not be economic, as we will, but *is* expenditure guided by such considerations? Such an inquiry may or may not be

included in economics—that is a matter of definition and convenience—but it is in any case fundamental to economic inquiry. The economist may avoid investigation, but he can not avoid assumption in this connection. Some hypothesis of economic purpose and incentive, simple or complex is indispensable. It must furnish the unit of all measurements, the term in which all results are expressed.

The assumption that economic activity is determined by considerations of happiness may of course be challenged. Duty, liberty, equality, etc., have been urged as competing considerations. It would be premature to try to settle such a question in advance and would anticipate some of the more important results of our inquiry. But in common with all economists I have given the individual pursuit of enjoyment the first place among economic incentives and am persuaded that an inquiry into this subject would be especially remunerative. It may be worth while to give a few reasons for this working hypothesis.

In addition to the cases in which persons avowedly seek enjoyment there are certainly many others where the incentive is the same under another name. Duty, liberty, equality, etc., are surreptitiously urged as incentives on the ground that they affect happiness. Witness the criticism just cited. A system “productive of maximum happiness” is rejected because, forsooth, “human activities can not be satisfied with a dead level of placid content.” Passing the surprising statement that we cannot be “satisfied” with “content,” we have to ask what it means to be satisfied. The satisfaction referred to is plainly synonymous with happiness, at least a species under the genus. A system which is productive of maximum happiness is thus rejected because it does not produce happiness of the kind and amount which some other system promises. Only the juggling with synonyms makes such a contradiction in terms possible. The socialistic scheme of Babœuf, which attached the most extravagant importance to equality did

so on the ground that "equality *is* happiness." In like manner all those social schemes which have emphasized liberty have claimed for it a similar identity with happiness, the one self-justifying thing. The confusion is due to an insistence upon different terms of the same series. We might as well dispute about whether it was more necessary to always have enough to eat or to always have enough money to buy our dinner. Happiness is thus offset, not against a real alternative, but against a supposed condition of happiness which for the moment is mistaken for an end. Such attempts to deny that happiness is the mainspring of voluntary action assume what they deny and accomplish their own refutation. Whether a science of industry or society is possible without this assumption or not, it is certain that the science we have is based on such an assumption. What else do we mean by the assumption made by Professor Nicholson along with the rest that men act from self-interest?

But the validity of a science of enjoyment does not depend on the universality of this or any other incentive. Whether universal or not it is at least the most common of all the springs of effort. It can not, therefore, be useless to inquire what are the laws of its action. If this does not solve all problems it will solve some. In some cases at least it will tell us the meaning of wealth in terms of human experience, where alone it has meaning.

Whether, therefore, the science of enjoyment is to be included in economics or not it is the legitimate and necessary outcome of economic investigation. If the earlier phases of inquiry seemed fruitful quite apart from the final phase it was because a certain amount of popular knowledge stood ready to supplement the incomplete inquiry. People have always had a certain notion of what wealth was and how to get the good out of it. The notion was neither very clear nor very uniform, but it was enough to give a meaning to objective calculations. Why then do we

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need a science of enjoyment at all? For precisely the same reason that we need a science of production, distribution, etc. On these subjects, too, there is a considerable body of popular knowledge which serves fairly well for practical purposes. But it is deemed expedient to collect, classify and increase this popular knowledge so as to make a science of it. Why not the other? Whether the inquiry be pursued for its own sake or as a guide to conduct and in furtherance of human interests the subject is one of exceptional interest and importance.

But it is not alone as the final term in economic inquiry that the study of enjoyments has a claim upon us; it is the initial term as well. Economic activity moves, not in a line, but in a circle. If wealth culminates in happiness it originates in happiness—that is, in desires born of past experiences. Modifications of production such as those following changes in fashion are inexplicable without a knowledge of what fashion is and what laws control it. Distribution invokes at every step the laws of enjoyment to explain its phenomena. Economics is not only incomplete without a study of enjoyment; it is impossible. The only question is whether the laws of enjoyment shall be considered, formulated and classified like other laws, or be smuggled in where needed without recognition and with all the imperfection of statement which such a method implies. As regards the subject of enjoyment, it is not a question of science or no science, but of good science or bad science. Without *some* science of the subject we get nowhere. We are hardly left in doubt as to the conditions upon which a radical improvement in economic science must depend.

If the importance of this study is duly recognized we can be relatively indifferent to the name which is applied to it and the order in which it is taken up. But these questions are of enough importance to deserve brief attention. There is a good deal to be said in favor of extending the term economics to include this study. In the first place, if the

study of enjoyment is not a part of economics it at least is not a part of anything else. No other science has taken it up in a way to satisfy the requirements of economics. There are therefore no associations to be overcome unless it be with the narrower use of the term economics. But this term displaced the older term, political economy, about at the time when attention was being turned to this study. Its advent may, therefore, appropriately mark the recognition of the new department. To put it in another way, the study of enjoyment is no part of political economy, but it is a part of economics. The use of these terms may thus appropriately continue to distinguish the conservative or reactionary from the progressive writers. In the second place, while other scientists have done nothing with the subject, economists have made notable beginnings at its investigation. This has already established a tentative or provisional association in favor of this designation. I am not sure but the thorough investigation of the subject will lead us to considerations which will suggest the traditional economic discussions but remotely if at all, but even so, the attachment here is greater and the friction less than elsewhere.

The final and far more important reason is that the two sets of phenomena are related to each other in a manner that scarcely admits of separation. They form a sequence or circle which may be studied in sections, but can be comprehended only as a whole. It is instructive to compare this relation with that which exists between economics and sociology. As in the case we have been considering, many of the most considerable contributions to sociology have been made by economists, and the two sciences are intimately associated in academic connections. But all attempts to make the one a part of the other have been abandoned. The reason is that though they treat largely the same matter they are logically independent. Sociology is the science of grouping or association, and its interest in

all phenomena which it considers is to find their relation to the size, tenacity and character of the group. Whether association makes men happier or not is strictly no concern of sociology. Economics, on the other hand, is the science of enjoyment, or if we insist upon a narrower definition, the science of the means of enjoyment. To one or the other of these all definitions of economics reduce. While, therefore, the science of sociology diverges from economics, the science of enjoyment emerges from it. Clearness of thought has everything to gain by distinguishing sociology sharply from economics; it can only lose by implying a fundamental distinction between the study of enjoyments and the study of wealth. When an organic whole is arbitrarily cut into sections it must be with the clearest recognition of the fact that the division is only for convenience and is without prejudice to its organic character. Such a recognition can not be better assured in the case before us than by uniting the two parts of the study under a single name.

More important is the question of the order in which the subjective and objective phases of economics should be taken up. For one, I incline strongly to the opinion that the subjective study should come first as being the more fundamental and the logical antecedent of the other inquiry. The chapters which follow will be the best explanation of my position. But it is proper here to note the reason why this is not the traditionally accepted order. As is well known, it is usual to begin with a discussion of wealth, its production, etc., after which come discussions of distribution and exchange, followed in the later work, by a curious appendix labelled consumption. It is the location of this appendix which, more than anything else, has left the impression that the study of enjoyment should come last. An examination of this division of economics throws light on the question. In it can be found a little of everything except the study of enjoyments. The computation of a German statistician as to the relative expenditure of different



classes for rent, food, fuel, etc., has been eagerly utilized to fill the aching void. In general the department reminds us of the blank advertisements sometimes seen in papers: "This Space is Reserved for"—let us say for Walker's future Adam Smith. The location of consumption in economic treatises is, therefore, to be accounted for by (a) the nature of its principal matter which is as objective as any other and such as can be postponed, (b) its nondescript character, unclassified material being usually reserved for an appendix, (c) its emptiness, confessions of ignorance being usually postponed. Imagine any treatise in which chapters on consumption occur so rearranged as to bring these chapters first, an arrangement which would usually involve no logical difficulties, and what an impression it would make of impotence and obscurity at the threshold of the science!

I have said that the earlier writers omitted all consideration of consumption as a department of political economy. But they did not therefore treat the subjective problems less fully than modern writers have done. The treatment in either case has been scanty enough. But the point which it most concerns us to note is the order of treatment which they followed. Allusions to subjective phenomena may be found scattered through their writings, but almost always as a preliminary to the discussion of objective problems. The statement that men act from self-interest (that is, in deference to the laws of enjoyment) is not an appendix to but a premise of their inquiries. Whether the recognition was by vague implication or detailed statement this character of premise was not and, indeed, cannot be modified.

In undertaking to analyze and expand this premise we have no power to change its logical relation to the subject. Granting that the dependence between the two is mutual it is by no means evenly balanced. The discussion of objective economics involves far greater assumptions in the subjective field than that of subjective economics does in the

objective. The fact that in the development of the science the logical order is not the chronological order, is not strange but natural. The objective is more tangible than its subjective antecedent and so earlier noticed. But when the subjective has once been analyzed, when once we have found the source of economic activity, we can most easily trace the windings of the stream by beginning at the source and following with the current.

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*Chapter II.*

ECONOMIC OBJECT AND SUBJECT.

The most fundamental distinction in a science of enjoyments is that between object and subject, or, speaking roughly, between wealth and uses. It will pay us to examine this distinction somewhat carefully. "Everyone has a notion," says John Stuart Mill, "sufficiently correct for ordinary purposes, of what is meant by wealth." It is doubtless true that a man who talks about this and similar subjects with no suspicion of technicality is not greatly misunderstood. But one who announces his intention of treating such subjects from a scientific or philosophical point of view has no such immunity. Past discussion has left a legacy of subtleties and ambiguities. Modern writers cannot proceed at once to the main task as Mill could do. They can at best but abridge the inevitable preliminaries.

In many cases we are at no loss to tell whether an article is wealth or not. Articles which are useful and limited in amount make us no trouble. Shoes are useful and not overabundant, and hence they are wealth. But such an article has antecedents and consequents which must also be classified. One set of antecedents make us no trouble, such as leather, cattle, land, etc., in order of derivation. But back of these, or co-operating with them, is another antecedent, labor, which has been the subject of much dispute, but is

not usually classed as wealth. Following upon the use of the shoes is a consequent, satisfaction or comfort, which it is agreed not to call wealth. The consensus of opinion is clear, and it at first seems inexcusable that economists should have departed from popular usage in modifying the definition of wealth as the aggregate of those non-human material instruments of human satisfaction which exist in insufficient amount to satisfy all desires. Shoes and their scarce material antecedents are wealth; their human antecedents and their immaterial or psychic consequents are not. Why is not this distinction satisfactory? It seemed so to Mill.

It is perfectly possible to use wealth in this sense in economic discussion, as referring to things usually intervening between the human fact of labor and the human fact of satisfaction, and serving as vehicles of transfer, but if we do this we make it too narrow a base for the foundation of a science of economics. Economics ceases to be the science of wealth and certain most important analogies are obscured. Many transactions which are conspicuously economic do not have to do with wealth as thus defined, involve no material vehicle of the kind previously described. Labor confers satisfaction directly and the satisfaction is recognized by payment, but outside of the payment there is no wealth as here defined. The distinction proves embarrassing. Mill found it so and faced the difficulty consistently. Labor thus expended was unproductive, and by implication at least, non-economic. What other conclusion was possible to one who did not recognize consumption or the science of satisfactions as having place in economics? But Mill's most unfortunate and misleading consistency has always been a stumbling-block and has usually been repudiated. The definition of wealth which was satisfactory enough in itself was rejected as soon as any use was made of it. Moreover, though popular usage has never applied the term wealth to labor, laborers and labor power, except by

way of metaphor, it has been less conservative in regard to allied terms as "labor market," "cost of labor," "value of labor," etc., all of which imply an essential identity between labor and wealth, a complete interchangeability, while avoiding the term itself. To call a large and important part of labor which has its value and its market as much as any other, unproductive and by implication non-economic, has always impressed men as carrying much too far a distinction which popular speech has never been willing to emphasize.

But criticism was easier than improvement. These transactions must be recognized as economic and yet it was difficult to extend the term wealth to include them. There was strong inclination to cling to the idea of a material vehicle between effort and satisfaction. Could such a vehicle be found in these cases where Mill found only unproductive labor for lack of it? Professor J. B. Clark has ventured a suggestion which is at least original. The material vehicle always exists though not always visible to the untrained mind. In this case it calls for the more acute observation of the physicist. When we pay for admission to a concert we are but buying material wealth. Does this material wealth consist in the singers? No, but in their product. They are not unproductive. They produce sound waves of an agreeable kind which are material and valuable, are wealth. If we prefer a stereopticon lecture to the concert we purchase ether vibrations which please us. The criteria of wealth, excluding human beings, are materiality and value. Tangibility, durability, etc., these are matters of indifference.

Such proportions as these can never find acceptance, no matter how sound they may be. To include sound waves and ether vibrations in the category of material wealth is simply to forfeit the sympathy and interest of practical men. It is probably this consideration which has deterred men from accepting the classification, for the argument seems to have

gone unchallenged. I confess to some surprise at this, for the fallacy seems to me amazingly clear. I omit all consideration of the difficulty of making men conceive of sound waves as comparable to bread and meat. I merely ask, are they economically comparable? Let us see.

Going to a concert I buy sound waves which are wealth produced by singers who are not. But a canary also produces sound waves. So when I buy a canary I am really buying sound waves which are wealth produced by a canary which is not. If instead of going to the illustrated lecture I buy a picture for my room (to use the ordinary misleading form of statement) what I really buy is a stream of ether vibrations which please me. These are wealth, not the picture. To get a case more perfectly analogous, let us compare transactions in which there is no permanent and complete transfer, only a temporary and conditional one known as hire. Desiring to take a drive in Japan I hire myself pulled by a coolie, in America by a horse. The coolie is not wealth, but only the producer of certain indefinite motor vibrations which are the object of my desire. The same must be true of the horse whose function is identical. Horses therefore are not wealth. Equally so for shoes, food, etc. They are all merely producers of vibrations conducive to our comfort. In short, all wealth reduces to vibrations, this being the form in which all matter acts upon the senses. We started out to find a material entity for certain special cases where a link was missing. We have found no such entity, only a notion or conception of the way matter acts which applies to *all* cases. We have cumbered our reasoning with a perfectly irrelevant conception borrowed from physics, and the peculiar class of phenomena which we were trying to assimilate to the larger group remain as incorrigibly peculiar as before.

A more popular effort to unify these phenomena invests human capacity, talent, etc., with the attributes of wealth.

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In hiring a coolie, a carpenter, a physician, I plainly purchase something. Since the individuals are not to be counted as wealth, what can that something be? In the case of the carpenter we can escape the difficulty by seizing upon his material product, but in the other cases we find nothing tangible. But talent, skill, labor capacity, these are much desired qualities. Are these not what we buy? To so classify them is to encounter a difficulty as great as the one we seek to escape. These objects of desire are attributes, qualities, not separable from that with which they are associated. Why is the strength of a man less legitimately classified as wealth than the strength of a horse or a rope? Each is prized for the quality that makes it useful, but the only way to get the quality is to get the thing possessing it. In general we accept this necessary connection of quality and thing as a matter of course. We desire objects by reason of certain qualities, but we never think of dissociating the quality from the object for economic purposes except when the object is a human being. Why do we do so in this case?

The reason is a very natural but a very illogical one; it is the pressure of humanitarian and social considerations. Scientific analysis finds in personal pride and social deference a serious obstacle to its normal development. There is an intense and justifiable reluctance to allow men to be assimilated to the brutes even for scientific purposes. The reason is that the struggle of the ages has been to prevent his being assimilated to the brutes for practical purposes. The memory of the great struggle, whose results are none too well assured, makes the sentinels watchful and suspicious. If comparisons are made between man and brute they are quick to insist that the contrasts are more important than the resemblances and more apt to be forgotten. All this is doubtless true, and for general purposes man's kinship to the brutes must not be made too prominent. The man who should address his wife as an animal would

not by any amount of after caressing avoid her resentment, because *for general purposes* he would be expected to consider her in her conjugal rather than in her biological character. But how about *special purposes*? Would he, as a zoologist, be justified in insisting that women had no place in a zoological classification? The answer is plain. When certain limited and well-defined relations are under consideration, classification should be based exclusively on these relations. This alone makes science possible. But these special classifications should not, for a moment, prejudice the general and composite classification on which depends the general status of the individual in practical affairs. When I am told that, zoologically considered, I am much like a dog, it does not follow that I am morally or intellectually like a dog or that I should be housed or fed like a dog. If it did, I should resent it, but as it is, resentment or sensitiveness would be ridiculous. It is just such a sensitiveness which so long provoked opposition to the doctrine of evolution. The idea that man descended from a monkey was resented as an insult to family pedigree. This feeling has been slowly overcome in this connection and, as a result, zoology is a science.

In economics, classification is still hampered by precisely similar considerations. Everybody can see that a coolie who pulls a cart is, from a certain economic standpoint, precisely analogous to a horse that does the same. A singer, a physician, etc., are almost as obviously so. They perform functions which conduce to our happiness and therefore we desire them for a longer or shorter time. We cannot buy them, it is true, but neither can we buy a highway, a navigable river, a picture from the national gallery, or even a livery horse if the owner chooses to retain him. All these things are withdrawn from the market for good and sufficient reasons, no doubt, but reasons which concern the jurist and are entirely alien to our purpose. So with men; they could once be bought for any purpose, but it has

been found conducive to social interests to subject them only to the limited and conditional sale, known as hire. How closely this arbitrarily limited sale may approximate to unconditional sale we need not here stop to inquire.

The confusion which has attended this discussion strikingly illustrates the results of excluding subjective factors from economic inquiry. The science becomes headless, uncertain as to what it is really after, and its classifications are fickle and unsatisfactory. Once seize the salient fact of economic life, satisfaction sought and experienced, that for which and of which everything economic is, and order comes out of chaos. Looked at from this standpoint how irrelevant such a criterion as materiality appears! This has to do with philosophy or physics, not with economics. If I can secure satisfaction from an immaterial source in exchange for material goods or *vice versa*, what is the question of materiality to me? And after all does the economist want to take the responsibility of deciding what is material or immaterial, or whether any thing is immaterial? Other criteria are equally irrelevant and troublesome. The one thing to be noted is that we are conscious that certain satisfactions are derived from objects, personal or otherwise, which are external to ourselves. Some of these objects are scarce and we thus become eager to secure and control them. If our need of them is permanent we strive to secure permanent control of them; if temporary and partial, the control we seek varies accordingly. We buy or hire a horse according to the nature of our need. We should do the same with men, buying a cook and hiring a physician, were it not that social obstacles, reinforced, it may be, by personal scruples, prevent the unhindered pursuit of what would otherwise be our interest. Analogous obstacles may, in like manner, limit the acquisition of other goods. Their economic character is not thereby changed.

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Looked at from the standpoint of the individual who is eagerly seeking satisfactions all external sources from which satisfactions may be derived have a common character which is fundamental to our inquiry. It may be that to call them all wealth is as great a violation of the laws of popular speech as any we have criticised. So be it, but if we must do violence to popular usage let it be in the interest of economics rather than in that of physics. If the term wealth, like so many others, is popularly so defined as to be unsuited to this larger use I will not insist upon its redefinition. Terminology is a secondary matter. I only insist that this common character of all objective sources of enjoyment, men and things, shall be recognized, not concessively as a personal whim not worth disputing about, but appreciatively as a fact of fundamental importance in the discussion of the primary problems of economics. At least from the standpoint of enjoyment the analogy between man and things is complete. A man does not differ generically from a horse or a house. All are prized as sources of satisfaction and secured on such terms as may be desirable and possible. All may contribute to enjoyment indirectly by producing certain intermediaries, or they may be enjoyed directly with no other intermediary than the universal and inevitable vibrations. That is, men, like things, may be either capital or final goods.

But while men from this standpoint of enjoyment are sources of satisfaction, things to be enjoyed, human goods, it is obvious that from this same primary standpoint they have another character. They are the users of goods, the ones who do the enjoying. This character is as universal and fundamental as the other, but it should not make us forget the other. It is not, indeed, a characteristic peculiar to men. The animals which man employs to further his enjoyment are likewise users of goods who enjoy and seek satisfactions, often quite parallel to those sought by men.

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Nor is man wholly indifferent to their enjoyment. But while their efforts and experiences presumably obey the same laws as those which govern our own, it is probable that we have nothing to gain by including it in our study. The entire range of economic objects known to us is thus comprised in two classes, the non-sentient and the sentient, or ignoring animals, the non-human and the human. The former have a single character in fundamental economic relations; they are used. The latter have a double character; they are user and used.

From the closely related standpoint of production we again find a double character in economic objects. They are producer and produced. In popular thought, as is natural, one of these characters is usually emphasized to the exclusion of the other. Man is counted as a producer and goods are counted as products. But man is also produced with cost and under laws which may be definitely assigned. The refinement of this product by technical education is a conspicuous illustration of cold-blooded calculations of economic advantage. Other stages are only more obscurely so. Commodities, too, are productive, albeit in ways peculiar to them. There are, of course, goods which are not economic products as there are economic products which are not goods, but this simply means that the fields of enjoyment and production are not co-extensive and identical. Within the proper field, however, we again find the two classes of objects, the one having the double character of producer and product, and the other the single character of product, producing nothing but enjoyment. In this sense—not a very important sense—not only the men whom Mill enumerates, but all final goods are unproductive. It is a curiously inappropriate word, however, to apply to the last stage on the route to economic finality, the consummation of our desire.

We have already seen that the same reciprocal relation holds in exchange, men being both seller and sold—latterly,

of course, with wholesome but economically arbitrary limitations. A careful study of distribution, the other problem of secondary economics, will reveal the same double character. This was to be expected. In the nature of the case all phenomena must have the double character of cause and effect (producer and product), and if sentient this involves the farther double character of feeler and felt (enjoyer and enjoyed).

Enumerations of wealth must therefore be relative. From the standpoint of the individual who looks out upon the world in quest of enjoyment all available objects have a common character; they are sources of enjoyment. He is as likely to seek control of one as of another. He gives his wares for men (services) or for other wares as suits his purpose, from like motives and with like results. To him all are goods. To another man the relation is in part reversed. He is not the first man's wealth; the first man is his wealth, that is a possible source of enjoyment to him. It will be apparent later why this essential identity of character in all useful objects external to us is not recognized in the use of the term wealth. The popular definition of wealth was not determined by scientific considerations, but it is one which science may be compelled to respect. To minimize the difficulty of innovation I have used the somewhat more pliable term goods to designate the objective counterpart of enjoyment in all connections. I recognize the unsatisfactoriness of this use and shall be glad to adopt a better term.

The foregoing facts will not be, and indeed cannot be, denied, but my statement of them is likely to be sharply criticised as involving a most objectionable use of terms. Indeed, I have written these paragraphs with the knowledge that it encounters one of the most vigorous and incisive criticisms to be found in economic literature on innovations of terminology, a criticism as directly applicable to the present instance as though it had been inspired by it. I

refer to Böhm-Bawerk's discussion of definitions of capital, and particularly to his criticism of the use of the term to include the person of the laborer. As the subject of terminology is sure to come up sooner or later and to trouble us until disposed of, it may be well to tackle it at once. But before quoting the criticism I have mentioned I will say that I desire to innovate as little as possible. I shall not at any time wantonly use words in a new sense. But for reasons which I hope later to make clear I desire to emphasize a neglected identity of character between men and goods. I could affirm the identity and stop with that, but then my statement would be discounted and the identity would dwindle to a feeble analogy. So I have called them all goods, which says exactly what I mean and is the only adequate means I have for saying it. I shall be thankful for a better word. Now for the criticism.

"First of all, if the title is given to all acquisitive instruments it can only be at the cost of refusing it to any narrower group of acquisitive instruments which likewise claims it. . . . Even were the question then in other respects an open one, we should on the ground of economy of terms decide against the use of the word capital for the totality of acquisitive instruments. But it is not an open question; it is already prejudiced by universal usage. . . . Capital and labor, capitalism and socialism, interest on capital and wages of labor, are certainly not harmless synonyms; they express the strongest conceivable social and economical contrasts.

"Now what would be the result if people began all at once to call labor capital? In the most favorable circumstances it would be an innovation in terminology with little to recommend it. If all the world were to adapt itself to the innovation, and were to do so in full consciousness that it was an innovation in terminology and nothing more, it would remain perfectly clear that in putting under one common name the real differences that separate labor from what has hitherto been called capital, these differences are not in the least reconciled. As before, everybody would notice these differences, and work without bias at the social problems to which they give rise. Economic theory would not then suffer any material injury beyond the inconvenience of having no name for the chief object of such inquiries; for of course from the moment that labor-

is reckoned capital we must cease to give the name of capital to its social opposite.

"This, I say, might be the result under the most favorable circumstances; unfortunately such a result is most unlikely. It is much more probable that the blending of the names would bring confusion into the matter. . . . How could one resist the tempting opportunity which the new meaning of the word capital would offer? Between capital and labor as these words were used formerly, there was discord, contrast, conflict. Now one single happy word unites all contrasts; what we thought opposites are really homogeneous; labor is capital; wage and interest are at bottom one."

Then follow illustrations from economic literature of the mischief wrought by such innovations.

I have no desire to disparage the considerations here advanced. They must have impressed the mind of every one who has struggled with the vagaries of quasi-economics or who has even carefully revised his own words. The argument would be as conclusive as it is brilliant were its premises sound. But among these premises is an unexpressed assumption which weakens if it does not vitiate the conclusion. The critic assumes as conditions of a sound terminology (*a*) that the conception adopted must be logically unassailable, (*b*) that we must economize terms, (*c*) that the conception must be "scientifically important," and (*d*) that it should square with previous usage so far as possible. All this will be admitted. But he tacitly assumes further that the conception adopted should be *single* and *rigid* in all uses save as limited by qualifying adjectives. This probably seemed too obvious to require mention. Now, if this delightful simplicity could be had just as well as not its desirability might indeed be conceded. But when goods can not be had for the taking we may sometimes hesitate to purchase even the most desirable. Unfortunately economics cannot have such a one-meaning terminology without accepting some disagreeable alternatives. It all comes back to this, that there are not enough words to go round. If it were botany or physics we could

manufacture as many terms as we needed and ask no word to do double service. But in economics by common consent and almost immutable tradition we cannot. We must use such terms as are furnished by popular speech. It is characteristic of popular speech that it makes words do multiple duty, marking the transition from one meaning to another by the connection in which it is used. Even for popular purposes there are not enough words to go round, though only the more prominent distinctions are noted. For scientific purposes the deficiency is far greater.

This difficulty becomes the more apparent when we note the true nature of classifications in a science like economics. The phenomena must be classified not once, but separately for each line of inquiry. Such a distinction as that between final and mediate goods can not profitably be the same for all inquiries. From the standpoint of enjoyment it is one thing, from that of distribution another and from that of the exchanger or the money-lender still another. Yet the bulk of the goods in either class, say that of mediate goods, will be the same in all these classifications. So far as popular speech deals with such distinctions it will invariably apply one name to these goods in the different connections, trusting to circumstances to interpret it and putting up with the inevitable ambiguities. The ideal thing for economics would be to have a different word for the class in each connection, a word which should indicate both the class and the connection in which it is considered. But so long as we have to take our cue from popular speech we must get along with less than the ideal thing, with a single word, capital. How shall we use it? We have a number of alternatives.

First, we may use it vaguely as it is used in popular speech, neither indicating nor perhaps perceiving the ambiguity involved. This has been common enough in the writings of economists, even of those who have devoted long discussions to its meaning.

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Second, we may use the single term with distinguishing adjectives to mark its different meanings, as acquisitive capital, productive capital, loan capital, etc. This is a common expedient and effectively prevents misunderstanding, or would do so if the qualifiers were well chosen and used with consistency, which is not always the case. But the same considerations which forbid the coining of words for economic purposes militates heavily against this cumbersome terminology, namely, the demand of an amateur and untechnical public for a facile and attractive style. The adjectives load the exposition and are soon dropped or if retained it is with doubtful advantage.

Third, we may use the word in the single sense that suits our special purpose and leave the rest to shift for themselves. This is approximately Böhm-Bawerk's conclusion. After discussing eleven different conceptions of capital to be found in as many different authors he decides in favor of one of them as the most useful. It is noteworthy that this is the one which precisely coincides with his own highly specialized inquiry into the subject of interest. It is a conception which would be entirely unsuited to the discussion of production which most would regard as the more fundamental economic relation. This he recognizes by using the term productive capital, which he classes as *a species under the genus*. Whatever may be the relation of productive to acquisitive capital it is not that of species to genus. It is true that it is a smaller class and wholly included in the other, but this is an accident of no logical importance. Aside from this accident the conception, productive capital, is every way the more fundamental of the two.

But criticism must be lenient where the choice lies between evils, which is certainly the case here. There is another alternative which is at least worth considering. It is merely to do consciously what popular speech does unconsciously, namely, to use the word in different senses in different connections with all reasonable precautions to

make the meaning clear in each connection and the transitions plain. There is no infallibility in such a procedure, but it is convenient and likely to prove quite as accurate in practice as the more cumbersome expedients we have considered. It is a mistake to assume that accuracy inheres in the pre-definition of terms. It is far more a matter of skillful combination with a view to manipulating those associations which words acquire quite without the writer's or lexicographer's consent. If we are definite and conscious in this elastic use of terms they may safely be made even more elastic than in popular speech. In other words, they may be made evenly and symmetrically elastic instead of fortuitously so.

I hesitate to pronounce with confidence as to the merits of an elastically simple as contrasted with a rigidly complex terminology. Temperament and literary instincts will affect a writer's judgment on such questions. For my own part I hesitate to cumber all allusions to familiar conceptions by the introduction of polysyllabic adjectives or to talk much about the "totality of acquisitive instruments." Nor can I believe that conceptions with such names, if frequently referred to, are "already sufficiently provided for." I would rather make it as clear as I can by such literary tact as I possess that when I am discussing production I use the word in one sense and in another connection in another sense and run the risk of being misunderstood. Perhaps it is better after all to be a little misunderstood than to deter the reader by a forbidding technicality. Frankly, however, I do not expect to be seriously misunderstood. It has seemed to me feasible to indicate an important identity of character between men and goods as objects of enjoyment by applying the term goods to both. I think my meaning will be clear to all. Nor do I believe any false inferences as regards social problems are likely to result. In any case there is a limit to a writer's responsibility for the heedless use which may be made of his words. That



this enlarged meaning of the word goods should become general or leave permanent associations with the word is neither probable nor desirable. It will serve its temporary purpose and disappear. It remains to be seen whether reasonable care and ingenuity cannot make of our limited terminology a more adaptable and efficient instrument than it has so far been. This particular innovation is a minor matter.

H. H. POWERS.

[The foregoing paper will be continued in the next two issues of the *ANNALS* which will contain the four remaining chapters of the monograph.—*Editor.*]

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CENSUS.

The census of the United States furnishes a striking instance of the growth of administrative functions. Originally intended as a simple device for the determination of apportionment, the census has come to be looked upon as a great national balance-sheet on which, from decade to decade, the results of national development are to be recorded and summarized. In exceeding the limits set for it by the letter of the constitution it has not only served real and fancied needs of practical administration, but has become a leading instrument in the scientific investigation of the social and economic conditions of the nation. The preparations which are now being made for the twelfth census have, therefore, more than a practical or political interest. The census operations are eagerly followed by all who are seeking light on the many problems of public policy, whether for the solution of a scientific inquiry or for the attainment of a practical end.

The development of the census from humble beginnings to its present proportions portrays the growth in number and complexity of these problems of national concern. A comparison of the first census of 1790 with that of 1890 shows a truly remarkable growth which can be roughly measured by the amount of expenditure or by the amount of printing involved. While the first census cost the government \$44,377.28, the last, or eleventh census has cost upwards of \$11,000,000. This increase in expenditure has been due in part to the growth of population, but in still larger degree to the extension of the scope of statistical inquiries and the greater elaboration of their results. If the same per capita cost of enumeration had prevailed in 1890 as one hundred years before, the cost of the census

would have fallen short of \$1,000,000. Not only has the enumeration of the population itself become infinitely more detailed, but a large number of inquiries have been added to those relating to the population. The Census Report of 1790, relating to population only, is a thin octavo pamphlet of fifty-six pages, while the Report on Population of the eleventh census is comprised in two quarto volumes aggregating 2181 pages. The entire census of 1890 is to comprise twenty-five quarto volumes, with upwards of twenty-two thousand pages of printed matter, exclusive of the compendium (three volumes), the abstract and the atlas.

In considering the steps by which the census has grown to such proportions our inquiry will be facilitated by considering in the first instance the development of the inquiries relating to population and reserving for subsequent consideration the addition of further inquiries. An obvious reason for such a division of the subject and its treatment by topics lies in the fact that population is the only subject comprised in the enumerations from start to finish.

The history of the enumeration of the people may be conveniently considered in three distinct periods. The first, which is one of wholly primitive methods, closes with the census of 1840. The second, which is marked by an improvement of the schedules, but an adherence to antiquated and ineffective organization, begins with 1850 and ends with 1870. The third period begins with 1880 and includes our experience down to the present time.

*First Period, 1790-1840.*

Prior to the adoption of the constitution there had been no general numbering of the people in the colonies. From time to time the Board of Trade and Plantations demanded reports from the various governors as to the number of inhabitants in their colonies. Statements prepared in response to such orders constitute our chief material for a

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knowledge of population in the colonial period. The figures given rest chiefly on conjecture and estimate, and do not constitute an enumeration in the modern sense.

The census of 1790, taken in accordance with the constitutional provision, directing an enumeration of the people to be made, was not only the first which covered the territory of the United States as a whole, but it was also the first direct enumeration made anywhere.\* It needs no explanation to show that the constitutional provision was dictated by no enlightened insight into the value of statistical research but by the practical need of ascertaining the numbers of the people for the purpose of apportionment. The constitutional rule which placed the representation of slaves and free persons on a different basis, involved, however, a distinction between these two classes in the enumeration. The letter of the constitution would have been fully satisfied had no further distinctions been made. Yet the first census law shows that the idea of utilizing the census for other ends than the mere regulation of apportionment had its origin at the outset of our history.

Some features of the law †—at least those relative to the machinery of census-taking—remained in operation for a long time. The act provides that the enumeration of the people shall be made under the direction of the United States marshals, who might appoint as many assistants as might be necessary to accomplish the task. The assistants were required to make the returns by a personal visit to each dwelling-house.‡ All persons over sixteen years of age were

\* Histories of statistics frequently ascribe to Sweden the honor of having in 1748 taken the first census. The account of the population prepared at that time was, however, a transcript of the permanent registers of the population which existed in Sweden, and not a direct enumeration.

† Act of March 1, 1790.

‡ In the absence of an adequate supervision of the work of the enumerators, it is to be feared that this provision was not strictly carried out. As late as 1860 it was not infrequent that in the rural regions the census was filled out on court days. The story of the man who took a census in a "boom" region by announcing that he wanted to buy real estate, and counting the crowd which gathered about the hotel, is not wholly improbable.

required to make the returns and give the information prescribed by the act under a penalty of \$20.00 for refusal. The payment to assistants was \$1.00 for every 150 persons enumerated. A curious provision of the law was that before making their return to the marshal the assistants were required to prepare two copies, which were to be posted for the inspection of the public, and in making returns to the marshals they were required to add a certificate from two reputable citizens that the returns had been posted, as the law required. When the returns were received by the marshals they were to be transmitted by them to the President. For their labors the marshals received fixed sums expressly stated in the law, varying from \$100 to \$500. The law requires returns on the points included in the following scheme:\*

NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY.	IN EACH FAMILY THE NUMBER OF					
	FREE WHITES.			Other free persons.	Slaves.	All persons.
	Males of a sixteen years and over.	Males under sixteen years.	Females.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

The schedule contained one line for each family. When it was completed a new one was commenced. It is to be inferred that the locality was indicated at the top of the sheet, as there is no column for these notices as in later census schedules. It will be observed that the letter of the constitutional requirement would have been fulfilled if columns 2 to 5 of the above scheme had been united in one. We have no express record of the purpose in making these

\* This is not an exact reproduction of the schedule used, but indicates its form and essential nature.

distinctions, but it is evident to students of statistics that the division of the free white males into age classes was dictated by considerations respecting possible military strength.

The census returns of 1790 were issued in the following year in an edition of 150 copies, all of them signed by Jefferson, Secretary of State. A table of returns by states, on the first page, represents the only work which was done by the central authority. Technically even this is defective, since the individual columns are not added, but only the final column, which gives the totals for each state. The remainder of the scanty volume is devoted to the returns of the marshals, which are printed in exactly the form in which they were made by those officials. With a schedule such as has been described there is little possibility of other than a geographical grouping of facts. In the northern states as a rule town or township population is given, as well as that of the counties, although Connecticut, which had a township organization, is returned by counties only. In the southern states, where the county was the unit of local organization, we find no further sub-division of the returns. Simple as the schedule was, the marshals found it possible to vary the reports. Thus the Massachusetts marshal gives the names of his assistants, indicating the districts to which they were assigned and the total number of persons returned by each enumerator. In Virginia each assistant had a county and his name appears in the report. In general the returns are simply a summary of the categories mentioned in the schedule. It is, however, of interest to note that the Massachusetts marshal goes beyond the instructions, adding columns giving the number of houses and the number of families, while in New York the marshal has analyzed the figures by ascertaining and reporting for each town the excess of males and the excess of females. Of course, such a division must of necessity refer to the free whites only, as the other elements—numerically

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Inconsiderable, it is true, in New York—were not divided by sex.

The census of 1790 remained the model for subsequent enumerations down to the year 1840 inclusive, both as respects the form of schedule and of publication. Not that the census remained stationary, but the fundamental principle remained unchanged.

During this period the schedule underwent several extensions, and at each census it was larger than at the preceding, yet the line of variation was a very simple one, relating as it did chiefly to the age divisions of the population. In the enumeration a single line represented a family and in publication a single line represented a geographical unit, whether township, county, state or nation. In 1800, 1810 and 1820 the scheme of age distribution was practically the same for whites. It comprised for males and females separately the following groups:

Under 10, 10 to 15, 16 to 25, 26 to 44, 45 and upward.

Slaves and free colored were enumerated in the mass in the years 1800 and 1810, while in 1820 a sex and age distribution similar to the free whites was adopted. The latter census also had a column devoted to "all other free persons except Indians not taxed," a category which, it must be assumed, included civilized Indians, but which disappeared in subsequent enumerations. In the years 1800 and 1810, as in 1790, the aggregate population by the family or geographical unit was the sum of all the individual columns relating to it. For the first time in 1820 columns appeared which did not enter into this total. One of these was an anomalous age class of sixteen to eighteen years for males only, the purpose of which is not clearly discernible, and a category of foreigners not naturalized. In the published report a double ruling separates these columns from the adjacent ones, and the headings of the columns were printed in italics. Apart, therefore, from the question relating to

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citizenship, the only extension of the tables up to 1820, inclusive, was in the direction of a more complete and more uniform age distribution for the different classes.

In 1830 and 1840 the schedule was considerably enlarged. The age distribution of free whites was in five-year classes up to nineteen years, inclusive, and in ten-year classes thereafter, with a final class of one hundred years and over, for each of the sexes separately. For slaves and free colored persons a more summary distribution with six classes in each sex was made, the age classes being as follows:

Under 10, 10 to 24, 24 to 36, 36 to 55, 55 to 100, 100 and over.

Thus only was the uniformity of the distribution disturbed, but an exact comparison between whites and blacks was rendered impossible. The lack of adherence to the decimal system in the length of the age periods here as well as in the grouping for free whites prior to 1830 is unaccountable.

The schedule showed an improvement, inasmuch as additional inquiries did not, as in 1820, appear in the midst of the schedule, but were reserved for the final columns, after a column had been provided for the total population. The additional information required in 1830 related to physical defects, deaf and dumb in three age groups, the blind in the aggregate for white and colored separately, and also to citizenship. In 1840 insanity was added to the physical defects recorded, while for the first time the census made a record of occupations, which, however, were summarized in seven groups. This census also asked for the number of pensioners. One column related further to illiteracy and a number of columns to schools, though how the latter could have been recorded in the general population schedule is not apparent. The following statement shows the development of the questions from 1790 to 1840:



NUMBER OF COLUMNS IN POPULATION SCHEDULES OF THE  
CENSUS 1790-1840.

	Name of locality.	Name of heads of families.	FREE WHITES.		FREE COLORED.		SLAVES		Columns entering into Total.	Additional columns.
			M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
1790	.	1	2	1		1		1	5	...
1800	1	1	5	5		1		1	12	...
1810	1	1	5	5		1		1	12	...
1820	1	1	6 <sup>a</sup>	5 <sup>†</sup>					27	2
1830	1	1	13	13	4	4	4	4	50	9
1840	2	...	13	13	6	6	6	6	50	26

The schedules were set forth in the successive laws governing the census, and it was the duty of the marshal to fill them out through his assistants. On the completion of their labors a summary was made and sent to the Department of State. In the main the department contented itself with the preparation of one general table for the United States and the printing of the marshals' returns. In publication the census reports followed closely the original schedule, and the size of the pages increased from one census to another with the number of columns in the schedule. As late as 1820 the returns for the different states varied considerably. In that year Vermont made no return of the population by towns, while in several cases (Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland and Massachusetts) the county totals are not added from the town returns, an omission which the State Department failed to rectify. These obvious irregularities led in 1830 to a publication of the returns of the marshals in two forms, first, as made, and then as corrected. The correction appears to have been to secure uniformity in the presentation, the county totals omitted by the marshals (Massachusetts, Maryland, Indiana and Michigan) being supplied. In 1840 the need of a

<sup>a</sup>An anomalous age column.

<sup>†</sup>A column "all other free persons."

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proper editing seems to have been better understood, as there is a single publication of the returns as reported and corrected.

In this period there could be no tabulation of statistics in the modern sense of the word. It was quite impossible to do more than reproduce the schedule, since the facts were not so recorded as to be susceptible of combination. Thus in the 1840 schedule no relation could be ascertained between occupations on the one hand and sex, race and age on the other. In the published results the simplest grouping was not made, the principle being pursued that each line on the schedule or in the published table must count up to the total at the end. Hence such intermediate sums as the "total white," "total free colored," "total slaves," "total males" and "total females" were not given in the tables, and if needed must be laboriously calculated.

The development during this period was simply in the direction of greater detail, but the census was still very crude as compared with our modern enumerations. Nor had the machinery of taking the census during this period undergone any essential change. The first census enumerators were allowed by the law nine months for the completion of their labors, and this practically remained the rule until the year 1850.

In consequence of this increased size of the schedule, which was aggravated by the ineffectiveness of the enumeration machinery, the census results were looked upon with great distrust. The census of 1840 in particular was the object of much hostile criticism. With the increase of the number of columns the control of the correctness of the results became increasingly difficult. The marshals were not required to transmit the individual schedules to Washington, but simply the total results for geographical divisions. The labor of making these summaries was therefore entrusted to the various marshals and their assistants scattered through the country. With a complete absence of

administrative control it was natural that the census should contain many errors.

Among the evidences of discontent with the census which have been preserved is a memorial addressed in 1843 to Congress by the American Statistical Association through a committee consisting of Edward Jarvis, William Brigham and J. Wingate Thornton. The memorial contends that the census is so outrageously defective that it cannot be considered a true picture of the state of the country and should not receive the sanction of Congress. They point out that in many cases the reports are obviously incorrect. A special study is made in their memorial of the school statistics of New England. The facts recorded in the tables are not only inconsistent with one another, but are at variance with official data collected and published by the state administration. Of greater interest for our present purpose is the discussion of the statistics of physical and mental defects among the colored population. The committee printed a list of seventy-five towns in the northern part of the country, where the number of the colored deaf and dumb reported by the census is as great as or even greater than the total colored population. In a still larger number of towns, a list of which is given, the number of colored insane equals or exceeds the colored population. These flagrant instances are in the minds of the committee sufficient to throw a doubt upon the value of the whole work. From Thomas Earle and other citizens of Pennsylvania a memorial was received by the House in which attention is called to the same facts in more general terms. In commenting upon these memorials a Select Committee of the House \* (Mr. Pratt, of New York, chairman) acknowledged that the facts are as stated, though they confessed their inability to discover where the error took place, whether in the original returns, in transcribing, or in publication. It should, however, be remarked

\* H. R. Reports of Committees, First Session, 28th Congress, Vol. III, Nos. 579 and 580.

that the evidence of the American Statistical Association is to the effect that many errors were to be found in all three operations. At the same session Congress was occupied with a project of creating a bureau of commerce and statistics in the Treasury Department. In the first committee report upon this measure its advantages are set forth by the chairman, Mr. Pratt, in very explicit terms. The bureau which was contemplated was to concern itself with such questions as were subsequently assigned to the bureau created in 1865. Neither in the first favorable report of March 8, 1844, on this project, nor in a subsequent one,\* which was presented February 27, 1845, together with a strong letter of recommendation from the then Secretary of the Treasury, George M. Bibb, is the relation of the proposed bureau to the census work considered. Yet when on June 17, 1844, the same Select Committee of the House commented upon the memorials which have been mentioned, the report says that the defects of the census discussed in the memorials form a strong argument for the establishment of a bureau of statistics. They must therefore have contemplated at that time that this bureau should take charge of the census work, though they forgot this argument in February, 1845, when they made their second report. No action was taken at this Congress and the contemplated bureau was not finally established until 1865.

*Second Period, 1850-1870.*

In preparing for the census of 1850 Congress recognized the justice of the current criticisms of the previous census and entered seriously upon the work of reorganizing the census. An act of March 3, 1849, created a census board, composed of the Secretary of State, the Postmaster-General and the Attorney-General, and charged this board with the duty of drafting the forms and schedules which might

\* H. R. Reports of Committees, First Session, 28th Congress, Vol. 1, No. 301; Second Session, 28th Congress, No. 110.

be necessary for the seventh census. Its exact functions were never distinctly defined and subsequent legislation rendered it ineffective. Congress had on the same day established the Department of the Interior and transferred the census labors from the State Department to the newly-created department. When Congress met in the fall it appointed a special committee upon the census which proceeded to prepare for the seventh census with little regard to the actions of the census board. Some doubt was expressed on the floor of the House whether such a board was competent to prescribe schedules without action by Congress. In any event it is sufficient to say that Congress took the matter in its own hands. The special committee, in consultation with some of the best authorities on statistical matters, prepared an elaborate bill. In their main features its recommendations met with the approval of Congress. The scope of the census work was indeed greatly enlarged, and the debate, which was prolonged, dealt at length not only with the expediency but also with the constitutionality of any enumeration beyond that of the people and for the purpose of apportionment. In the end the utility of statistical work overcame the constitutional scruples which were brought forward by Alexander Stephens, of Georgia, and other eminent southern members.

The Act of May 23, 1850, is a distinct advance upon the previous legislation. It was designed to provide for the seventh census and in the absence of subsequent legislation for any future census. In fact, the law governed the census down to 1870, inclusive. No change was made in the organ of enumeration, the marshals and their assistants fulfilling this duty as heretofore, under the supervision of a superintendent of the census in the Department of the Interior. The law provided not less than six schedules, two of which, one for free inhabitants and one for slaves, related to population. The schedule provided for the free inhabitants is in the form of a family schedule, with a distinct line for

each member of the family, who for the first time were recorded by name, but each sheet was used for as many persons as possible, several families being on the same sheet. The privacy of a family schedule was lacking, but the principle of individual enumeration was established. It will be remembered that in the previous census operations the schedule was for the locality, and each line represented a family, the head of the family only being designated by name. As the schedule for 1850 provided a line for each person the information requested as to age, sex, etc., could be recorded in a single column, and the schedule was therefore much simplified. The grouping of the facts into tables for publication was no longer left to the marshals of the various districts, but entrusted to the Census Office. The marshals had no further duty than to collect the schedules and send them to Washington, where they were to be tabulated in a central bureau, thus insuring a greater guaranty for formal accuracy and unity of effort than had existed before. The schedule for free inhabitants assumed practically the form with which we are familiar to-day, though it is more limited in scope than in the last census. In addition to the name of the free inhabitants questions are asked regarding age, sex, color and place of birth of all of the inhabitants. Further columns relate to profession for persons over fifteen years of age and illiteracy for persons over twenty years of age, physical or mental defects, ownership of real estate, marriage within the year or school attendance within the year. The schedule for slaves is simpler, and involves simply age, sex, color, physical or mental defects, and some few questions which could not apply to the free inhabitants.

With the census of 1850, therefore, we find an enumeration based on schedules akin to those now in use. The subsequent development of the census has involved no change in the form of the schedules. The advance which has since been made lies rather in the increase in the questions.

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asked and especially in the utilization of these questions in the tabulation. The census for 1850, which was conducted under the supervision of J. B. De Bow, showed a marked advance in the statistical spirit in its publications. For the first time in the history of the census we have an adequate introduction. This gives in the first place an account of the legislation under which the census was conducted, the instructions issued to the enumerators and some of the administrative details with regard to the mode of classification, etc. It is much to be regretted that the good example set by Mr. De Bow has not always been followed. The student of statistics needs in many cases the official interpretation of words and phrases which can only be found in these administrative documents. After a description of the census machinery the superintendent proceeds to an analysis of the census results. The analysis treats of population by topics and contains comparisons with the preceding census enumerations and in many cases also with foreign countries. The arrangement of the general tables in the body of the work is less commendable. It is purely geographical, all of the statistics of Maine, no matter to what subjects they relate, being given first, and the other states in order. If, for instance, we desire to find the illiterates by states we can refer to the introduction, but if we seek a table for illiteracy throughout the United States by counties we must turn to Table IX in each one of the states. This holds true, of course, of any other item of information.

The census of 1860 followed the same methods as that of 1850, being taken under the same law and with the same schedule. It came at a critical period of our history and did not receive much general consideration.

Before the census of 1870 was undertaken a careful consideration of the needs of the census took place in the House of Representatives. A committee presided over by General Garfield presented January 18, 1870, an elaborate report upon the census, with suggestions for important and radical

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changes in the census methods. The committee prepared a valuable history of census methods in foreign countries and in the United States, and its report has been the chief source of information for those who have been curious to study the development of our statistical efforts. Together with their own report they published some account of the International Statistical Congress, which had then recently devoted much consideration to the subject of population statistics and a valuable paper by Dr. Jarvis, of Boston, on the needs of the census work.

In the field of population statistics the committee did not feel justified in recommending any substantial change as to the period of enumerations. The proposition for a one day census which had been made by Dr. Jarvis was rejected by them on account of the extreme difficulty which that method involves. The distinctive argument for the United States is the fact that our census schedules, owing to the census being "the only instrument of general statistics," were more elaborate than those of countries having permanent statistical bureaus. The committee, however, are agreed that the time allotted to the enumeration was too long and that a period of one month should be sufficient. The delay in publication of the census, which had given rise to vexatious complaints, and which as we know has not yet been abolished, is ascribed by them, in part, to the length of time allotted for enumeration purposes. In the light of the experience of 1880 and 1890, however, this has proved to be a minor element in the delay.

The committee urged, however, certain improvements in the schedule and added to the questions already asked those relating to relationship to head of the family, to conjugal condition, to parentage and to dwellings.

The most radical change which was proposed was in the machinery of the census, taking the enumeration out of the hands of the United States marshals and placing it under special agents. The old rule had worked ineffectively, not



only because the marshals being judicial officers were already sufficiently occupied with other and different functions, but also because of the inequality in size of the judicial districts, which had imposed upon some of the marshals inequality in their judicial district. A district of Massachusetts embracing a million and a quarter inhabitants is contrasted in the report, with one in Florida with a population of seventy thousand, and one in Alabama with a population of three hundred and twenty thousand.

The bill for the taking of the ninth census prepared by this committee involves the points above mentioned, together with many other details, which looked to a change in the machinery of census taking, to an improvement of census schedules and an enlargement of their scope. Unfortunately the labor which was spent in the preparation of this bill was for the time being lost. While it passed the House, it failed in the Senate, and it was not until 1880 that its essential provisions were incorporated in the law.

The ninth census was taken therefore under the Act of 1850 in default of any new legislation upon the subject. The Superintendent of the Census, General F. A. Walker, chafed under the old and antiquated machinery, and in his introductory remarks discussed the difficulties which he encountered with perfect freedom and with that vigor of language which marked all his utterances. All that careful tabulation could supply he gave. His tables are arranged by topics and his text commentary is an invaluable aid to the comprehension of the figures, and of the charts which form a distinctive feature of this census publication.

General Walker is even more explicit than the Garfield Committee in his discussion of census methods. In his introductory report he claims to have made the best census which could be made under the existing law. Complaints against the census were frequent. They were generally of a class, however, which have not yet disappeared, complaints that the population attributed to certain localities was too small.

The animus of such complaints is perhaps best portrayed in the words of the introduction which remarks that "the complaints in the great majority of cases have been not so much on account of the inadequate representation of the town or city itself as of the superiority attributed to some immediate rival." These contentions are dismissed by General Walker as without foundation. He is, however, emphatic in dealing with the "essential viciousness of a protracted enumeration." While the time allowed for taking the census had been somewhat shortened, it was none the less under the law of 1870 in round numbers one hundred days. Such a period offers wide opportunity for omissions and to some extent duplications in the census. General Walker is of the opinion that the census might readily be taken in a single day in the larger cities, in a period of three or four days in the manufacturing districts of the country and a period not exceeding one month in the outlying regions. This ideal has not yet been realized. While acknowledging with courtesy the services of the marshals who had assisted him in the work of the ninth census, he does not hesitate to call attention to the defects of the law in imposing this service upon those officials. Under the law they were charged not only with the supervision of the enumeration but also with the preliminary work of determining the sub-divisions within their district. Moreover, it was always an anomalous condition that the agents of the Department of Justice should for this purpose be under the direction of the Department of the Interior. Another question which has vexed the legislator since the first census was begun—namely, the mode of compensation for enumerators—receives attention at length from the superintendent, but its discussion hardly belongs within the scope of this paper.

The schedule of 1870 was improved by the recasting of the headings and the introduction of a summary question permitting a record of foreign parentage.

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In the census work the greater exactness resulted from the distinct formulation of certain questions, notably that with regard to occupations. In the compilation of results greater care was exercised. The utilization of the materials was more complete than the former periods. Improvements are to be noted in reference to classification of ages and of occupation, in short, in the inter-relation of the different figures.

*Third Period, 1880-1890.*

A new period in our statistical history began with the census of 1880. The Act of March 3, 1879, provides for a census of broader scope than any which had heretofore existed. The recommendations of the Garfield Committee were substantially accepted in the formulation of the law. That which characterizes the census of 1880 over and above those which preceded it, is the enormous extension which was given to the supplementary work of the census beyond the enumeration of the people. As concerns the latter, with which we are here occupied, the most important innovation was the establishment of special organs for the collection of the material. The United States marshals were no longer charged with these duties, which were entrusted to specially appointed supervisors of the census. The result was greater uniformity in the labors of the supervisors through the greater equality of the districts over which they presided. There was another change from an administrative point of view, in that census enumerators were directly amenable to the Superintendent of the Census and the Secretary of the Interior, who was ultimately responsible for the operations of the Census Office. The improvement in the schedule was represented by the introduction of questions relating to the conjugal condition of the people and to parentage.

The published results of the census reflect the more generous spirit in which the appropriations have been made for this work. The tabular statements are superior to those

which preceded them in the wealth of their details and in the correlation of the different facts which were the subject of the census enumeration. As late as 1880, however, the methods of tabulation pursued in the Census Office were of a primitive character. They afforded many opportunities for errors, while their clumsiness prevented the fullest utilization of the facts which had been collected by the enumerators. Thus, the figures for conjugal condition are not tabulated at all in the census of 1880, while those for percentage are tabulated only in part. When one considers that the tables were made up by the primitive method of reading the schedules and scoring off the results by means of lines (like the scoring of points in a game) it will be marveled that so much was accomplished in the elaboration of the tables previously given, and it cannot be wondered that the office found its appropriations too limited for a tabulation of the additional items involved in the schedule.

With the eleventh census we reach a work so recent, that its general features are well known to students of economics. The promise of curtailing the census work, which was made at the outset, has only been partially fulfilled. The census of 1890 numbers twenty-five large volumes and exceeds in bulk that of 1880; but there has been a great gain through the elimination of non-statistical material which cut a prominent figure in the census of 1880. So far as the population is concerned, the schedules with which we are familiar were not essentially changed. The publication of the results, however, is far more ample than anything heretofore known, and is more extensive than the census work of any other nation. This result was made possible through the adoption in the work of tabulation of the electrical tabulating machine invented by Mr. Herman Hollerith. This has been a great boon to statistical work and promises to give us in the future, through the more perfect and complete analysis of results, a greater insight than we have heretofore enjoyed into the

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phenomena of population. For not only has the United States census of 1890 demonstrated the efficiency of the machine, but also those of European countries where it has been adopted, notably Austria, have given us a far more complete analysis of the phenomena of population than we have enjoyed before.

The general trend of census development, which has been shown in the foregoing pages, is toward an improvement of census machinery, an elaboration of census schedules and a more careful and minute presentation of the results of statistical inquiry. It has been our purpose to bring these facts to the attention of the reader through a study of population, the original object of census research which still remains the incentive and backbone of the operation. But the history of the census is not complete without a consideration of the subsidiary inquiries which have grown out of the constitutional requirement of an enumeration of the population.

### *Subsidiary Inquiries.*

As the census of 1890 devotes but two volumes of its twenty-five to the subject of population, it can readily be understood how subsidiary inquiries have grown in importance. Some of them are a direct outgrowth of the population schedule and represent as independent inquiries an elaboration of facts previously embodied in the population volume and even yet, in part, enumerated on the population schedule. Of this class there is the volume relating to the defective classes (the insane, the deaf and dumb and the blind). As early as 1830 the population schedule called for certain information with regard to these classes, and they have been the subject of inquiry at each succeeding census. The peculiar character of the schedules in vogue before 1850, however, made an elaboration of the data required out of the question. The mere fact of the existence of these infirmities, with such divisions as to color and age which

might be asked for on the schedule, was all that was available for publication. With the schedule of 1850 the returns are, as before noted, given individually, and statistics in relation to these classes are, therefore, capable of the same elaboration as those of the general population itself. None the less, the returns were very defective and the publication very meagre. It was not until 1880 that a more direct study of these classes was made. In that year, as well as in 1890, a special schedule was provided for these classes. It gave not only the general facts called for in the population schedule, but also a number of special inquiries which related to the cause and nature of the specific infirmities. In consequence of these changes a much more complete study of these unfortunate classes was possible. The statistics then in 1890, as compared with those for 1880, share in the general improvement of all population returns due to the introduction of improved methods of tabulation.

Similar to the foregoing are the statistics of crime, pauperism and benevolence. They date from the year 1850, when the population schedule contained a space in which might be recorded the fact of pauperism or criminality as well as physical defects. Unfortunately, no definition is given in the instruction of the words "pauper" and "convict," and the returns appear to have been quite incomplete. At any rate, such an elaboration of the returns as was possible was not undertaken and the census contents itself with recording simply the number of prisoners and paupers drawn not from the population schedule, but from that of social statistics. Somewhat more elaborate are the figures relative to 1870, though here again the tabulation was confined to facts drawn from the social schedule. The preparation of these schedules received greater attention from the central office, and every effort made to secure uniformity in the returns. A clear definition of the criminals is not given and we are informed in the introduction that the figures do not relate to inmates of houses of correction

or workhouses. Again, special schedules relating to these classes first appear in the year 1880, and for the first time we have a study of the special characteristics of the classes concerned. Prior to this date we have no information with respect to such important questions as the character of crime committed and the length of sentence for prisoners, or the causes of pauperism and the nature of the relief afforded to paupers. The tabulation for the year 1890, based upon similar special schedules, amplified in certain directions, is a remarkable analysis of the facts in question. No more complete study of population groups than that given in this volume exists anywhere to the writer's knowledge. In places, indeed, the figures are over-elaborated and tables constructed which serve no useful purpose; but this is a fault which will concern the legislator desirous of the economical use of public money rather than the student, unless such excessive and unnecessary work is at the cost of more important inquiries elsewhere.

Less obviously connected with the population schedule are the volumes relating to mortality and other vital statistics in the United States. They grow directly, however, from the population schedule and date from the year 1850, when the first attempt was made to collect vital statistics through the census agency. In that year a special schedule for deaths was introduced, and since then the attempt to collect vital statistics by this method has not been abandoned. The figures relating to births and marriages have been called for directly by the population schedule; those for deaths have of necessity been collected separately. The great interest which has always been felt in mortality statistics is doubtless the cause of the persistence of this schedule in the census. The statistics of mortality, to be instructive, must be complete. Those of the census are notoriously deficient. When, for instance, the census of 1890 gives as the death rate in the United States 13.9 per thousand of the population, the merest tyro in statistics

knows that the figure is incorrect. It represents the ratio of reported deaths to the population, and not the ratio of the whole number of deaths. In so far, therefore, as vital statistics depend upon quantitative measurements, these volumes must be characterized as worthless. Few inquiries in the census represent so large an amount of labor for so slight a positive result. It is not to be denied that these statistics give some indications of the prevalence of certain types of disease in certain regions, but that is all that can be said of them.

The next great field of census inquiry which we must consider is not directly connected with the enumeration of the population and is of independent origin. Of the census volumes which have not heretofore been noticed, the greater number can be included under the head of statistics of production. Of these the most important are those relating to agriculture, manufactures, mining and transportation.

The development of population statistics has shown us that the idea of utilizing the decennial enumeration of the people as a means of securing important information, was an early one. It was not, however, until 1810 that it was proposed to extend the census inquiries beyond the study of the population. The Act of May 1, 1810, declares that the marshals shall report upon all the establishments of manufacturing industries in their district. No schedule was prescribed for their guidance by the law and the matter seems to have been left entirely to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury; nor did that officer take the task seriously and attempt to produce a uniform schedule applicable to all branches of manufactures. He simply made a list of industries which were to be reported; he did not make it clear what was expected under each head. Some of his questions appear to look to the number of establishments, others to the amount of the product in bulk, and still others to the value of the product. As a consequence of such a heterogeneous schedule no summary figures could



be obtained in a form capable of comparison with the census figures of a later date. The mass of material collected was turned over to Mr. Tench Coxe, who with a free use of estimate and conjecture prepared in 1814 a "Statement of the Arts and Manufactures in the United States for 1810."

In 1820 another attempt was made to secure manufacturing statistics, and the schedule which was prepared by the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, is much superior to that of the previous census. It was as follows:

Raw Materials—Kind, Amount and Value.  
Employes—Men, Women, Boys and Girls.  
Machinery—Three questions.  
Expenditures—Capital, Wages Contingent.  
Nature of Product.  
Value of Product.  
Remarks.

In the absence of definite instructions it will be noticed that the schedule is somewhat vague and capable of varying interpretation in some of its parts. In other cases the questions are direct, and on the face of it should have given fairly satisfactory results. But the administration of a census office of those days was far from what it should have been, and so badly was the inquiry managed that the returns which were published were entirely unsatisfactory. Indeed, so great was the dissatisfaction with the results of these inquiries that in 1830 they were abandoned altogether. In 1840 the manufacturing schedule marks a certain improvement. It enumerates thirty-one different classes of manufacturing industry, grouping the remainder. Though the printed schedule is not specific, it appears that under each head three questions were asked—value of the product, number of persons employed, and the capital invested. Meagre as is the information asked for, the results could have been of some value had they been carried out consistently. But the three questions are not uniformly elaborated. A

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summary in the preface to the tenth census report on manufactures shows that many items are omitted, so that totals for the United States or for any single state can not be obtained. This summary also shows sixteen special inquiries which were not provided with the general schedule and have little relation to it. It is clear that the complaints which this census gave rise to in relation to population, could have been made with equal force with regard to manufactures. Public opinion branded the entire census as worthless.

As in other inquiries we find the beginning of modern statistics with the census of 1850. The schedule of manufactures is substantially in the form which we use to-day and many comparisons may be taken back to that date. It is essentially an individual schedule, each establishment recorded being given a distinct line. The schedule contains fourteen columns, of which five describing the establishment, raw material, the product and motive force are not statistical in character. The remaining columns provided for numerical statement of the value of capital, the amount and value of raw material, the hands employed (male and female), the average monthly wages (male and female), and the amount and value of the product. The statistics of industry upon such a basis must necessarily be comparatively simple. It is obvious that only two principles of classification are practicable: a classification by localities, and a classification by industries.

No further development in manufacturing statistics took place until the year 1880. In that year the schedule was improved, especially as regards the census of the statement of wages. The question asked in this census is as to the total amount of wages paid and not the average wage. It is obvious this question can be answered more readily and more correctly than the previous one. Yet the greatest improvement which marks the census of 1880 was in the administrative machinery. The census act permitted the superintendent to withdraw the schedules of industry from

the hands of the ordinary enumerators and place them in the care of special agents, and wherever there was a great concentration of industry, as in the case of cities, this was done. Wherever, therefore, industry was on a larger scale, the facts were collected by more highly qualified agents. In the more distinctively rural districts they remained in the hands of the enumerators of the population.

Another improvement was the employment of experts upon special topics. Their reports comprised about one-half of the bulky volume on manufactures of the tenth census. Some of them are statistical, as in the case of Mr. Hollerith's report on the power used in manufacturing, while others are largely historical and descriptive, as in Mr. Wright's report on the factory system. Three volumes of the tenth census are devoted to the subject of manufactures and allied topics, namely: Volume II, Manufactures; Volume XX, Wages; Volume XXII, Power and Machinery Employed in Manufactures. The wages inquiry did not result directly from the schedule of manufactures, but was a special undertaking comprising a vast mass of information printed in bulk without classification.

In the eleventh census manufactures again occupied three volumes, which show an improvement in the schedule and in the administrative features. A much larger proportion of the work was collected by special agents than heretofore, while in the general schedule we find an itemization of the facts relating to capital, employes, and wages, which should be in the direction of greater accuracy. In the published volume we have a remarkably full and complete analysis of the returns.

In the other statistics of production, transportation is most closely allied to manufactures in the thoroughness of the inquiry and in the analysis of the results. This inquiry is a comparatively new one and found no place in the census before the year 1880.



what is bad, what indispensable and what superfluous, would lead far beyond the limits of this paper. Such an exhaustive criticism is much needed, but must be a co-operative work, since it may well be doubted whether any statistician of repute has the omniscience essential to such a labor or the temerity to undertake it.

ROLAND P. FALKNER.

## LEGAL STATUS OF CALIFORNIA, 1846-49.

The United States in its federal capacity is required to guarantee to every state in the union a republican form of government. This implies the establishment of some government within each state, and hence a constitutional convention. New states to be formed out of territory of the United States, organized under its authority or acquired in an organized condition from foreign states, call for a second class of conventions to frame constitutions for such states. Such conventions are regularly assembled in pursuance of enabling acts of Congress. But there is another limited variety of conventions including such as have been convened by the inhabitants, or the temporary governments of organized territories, irregularly, without enabling acts of Congress. Among this last, or irregular class, Dr. Jameson mentions, somewhat inaccurately, the California convention of 1849.\* Certainly the California convention was irregular; but it is well known that previous to the convention, California was not an organized territory of the United States; also that the convention did not meet at the free instance of the inhabitants. Not only so, but it will also plainly appear as the discussion proceeds, that the conditions under which the first California convention was held were wholly without exact precedent.†

The actual conquest of California by Americans was signalized by the hoisting of the Bear Flag at Sonoma, on June 15, 1846, by a few men under command of Captain Frémont. This rude but long since famous flag bore under the emblems of the lone star and grizzly bear the legend, "California Republic." Whatever may have been Frémont's real motives in this apparently almost wanton revolt, it is certain that his followers had little or no intention of erecting

\* Jameson, "The Constitutional Convention," p. 178.

† See Gwin's exposition, Browne's "Debates," p. 393.

a permanent republic on the Pacific coast, but that for the most part they were patriotic Americans. The anomaly known as the California Republic was, as an independent government, insignificant, and extremely short-lived.

On July 7, Commodore Sloat, who had arrived a few days earlier, formally took possession of Monterey, the early capital of California. As soon as the Stars and Stripes floated over the land, the Bear Flag party abandoned the purpose of an independent revolution and the Bear Flag itself was superseded by our national ensign. Commodore Stockton arrived July 15, and succeeded Sloat at the desire and request of the latter, as commander-in-chief of all forces and operations on land, assuming active command shortly after his arrival. Sloat had lacked sympathy with the American revolutionists, and his conservative policy forbade his utilizing the forces of Frémont; but Stockton, having learned of the state of war while in Mexico, immediately adopted an aggressive policy, and decided to extend the occupation to the south territory. He accordingly organized the forces of Frémont as the California Battalion of Mounted Riflemen, which proved instrumental in completing the conquest.\* Thus, then, while war was in progress between the United States and Mexico, the Mexican province of California was taken military possession of by United States forces.

On assuming command, Commodore Stockton had issued an undignified and impolitic address to the people, which in its tone was an offensive declaration of martial law.† This address neither embodied the views of Commodore Sloat nor conformed with the governmental policy at Washington.‡

\* The conquest was easily accomplished, without a single important battle. Bidwell in *Century*, Vol. xli, p. 523.

† House Executive Documents, First Session, Thirty-first Congress, Vol. i, pp. 31-33.

‡ As witness its closing sentence: "As soon, therefore, as the officers of the civil law return to their respective duties, under a regularly organized government, and give security to life, liberty, and prosperity alike to all, the forces will be withdrawn, and the people left to manage their own affairs in their own way."

It was the fixed purpose of the administration at Washington to retain this country and make of it a permanent part of our national territory. Stockton, it would appear from his address, did not care to make California a territory of the United States; nor did he appear to desire any of its lands for his government.\* His address scarcely contained a hint that it was to be held until a treaty should be concluded between the United States and Mexico. His alleged motive for completing the conquest was "to bestow peace and good order on the country:" this, however, was obviously inadequate and secondary.

California was now conquered territory. As such it could have no determinate status on a peace basis while war with Mexico continued; nor was it yet a part of the United States territory, except as a temporary military possession. The Department of California was conquered territory subject to temporary military control. Now conquered territory, according to a well-defined principle of international law, regularly retains its prior municipal institutions, the conqueror being authorized to ordain needful temporary laws and regulations.† The laws of Mexico which had hitherto obtained in California should have been continued by the military rulers of the country until those rulers had put in operation some other provisional government;‡ and indeed this principle was distinctly proclaimed by Commodore

\* Bancroft, "History of California," Vol. v. p. 258.

† This is the view, in the main, that I conceive President Polk, not with strict consistency, to have held. See his Message to Congress, December 8, 1846. But in Congress widely divergent views were adhered to. Mr. Douglas held that the province belonged to the United States by conquest, and that no proclamation was needed to make it ours. Mr. Rhett, at the other extreme, urged that the conquered territory rested on the power of the sword alone, whether the government was civil or military in character. Mr. Bayly declared the President to be a usurper in establishing or authorizing civil government in the conquered territory. Mr. Seddon approximated the President's position, holding it to be the right and duty of the military commanders to establish provisional civil government, and maintaining the power of annexation and incorporation to be the prerogative of the conquering nation, to be exercised, however, only by Congress.—*Congressional Globe*, 1846-47, pp. 14, 15, 23-26, 75.

‡ *California Star*, June 19, 1847.



Stockton who, on August 17, 1846, issued from Los Angeles a proclamation to the people in which he said, in part:

"The Territory of California now belongs to the United States, and will be governed as soon as circumstances may permit, by officers and laws similar to those by which the other territories of the United States are regulated and protected. But until the Governor, the Secretary, and council are appointed, and the various civil departments of the government are arranged, military laws will prevail, and the Commander-in-Chief will be the Governor and protector of the territory. In the meantime the people will be permitted, and are now requested to meet in their several towns and departments, at such time and place as they may see fit to elect civil officers and fill the places of those who decline to continue in office; and to administer the laws according to the former usages of the territory. In all cases where people fail to elect, the Commander-in-Chief will make the appointments himself."\*

This proclamation put in force at the same time two kinds of law, the one civil, the other military. Many deemed them irreconcilable: but the temporary existence of military rule is plainly not inconsistent with the perpetuation of the civil institutions and regular administration of justice of the conquered province. The military commander is clothed with certain civil functions; the civil laws and their officers receive their sanction from the military domination.† But while the civil law of Mexico was thus proclaimed, and the President assumed that a temporary government was in operation, as a matter of fact Mexican law never was, and from the nature of the case could not be, put in full operation

\* *California Star*, January 9, 1847.

† *The Star*, January 16, 1847, gave a lucid exposition of the reconciliation of laws. It said, in part: "Military law does not affect the citizens in their private relations with each other . . . it affects them only in their relations to their government. . . . The courts of the country are never brought under the influence of martial law, but are only affected by it in their character of private individuals and not as courts; and unless their proceedings are entirely superseded, they must be governed by the civil or municipal laws alone." The question of the co-existence of civil government and military rule was being discussed almost simultaneously in Congress. Mr. Douglas had said: "Without some form of civil government, all must be anarchy, and riot." Mr. Seddon had ably argued the continuance of the civil institutions and regular administration of justice of the conquered province. —*Congressional Globe*, 1846-47, pp. 15, 24.

after the American conquest, and the military commander had not established any satisfactory civil government in its stead.\* Almost immediately after the conquest, the American inhabitants began to complain, not only of the inadequacy and want of uniformity in the Mexican laws theoretically in force, but also of the actual absence of any rational system of law. This just complaint was destined to grow louder and more bitter from the moment of the conquest till the eve of the Constitutional Convention.

There was much uncertainty as to what laws were in force at a given moment. As early as January 9, 1847, the *California Star* reflects the not uncommon feeling of dissatisfied uncertainty. The alcalde was the sole judicial officer of California at this period. Among native Californians the functions of the alcalde had been perpetuated by tradition. One such officer retained jurisdiction at each centre of population. This jurisdiction had come to be exceedingly vague, variable, and uncertain in scope. The much-talked-of Mexican system of law, theoretically continued in full operation, was in reality narrowed down to a number of local alcaldes, the most powerful one being resident at Monterey, but each having an indeterminate status. Inadequate as was this system of district judges under later Mexican rule, it was vastly more unsatisfactory as well as positively distasteful to progressive Americans: "hard headed American pioneers demanded a better system of government than the Mexican law gave them." †

Since Americans began to succeed Mexicans, or Spaniards, as alcaldes, almost immediately following the conquest, the growth of American law was inevitably rapid. While theoretically the Mexican civil law continued in force, in fact

\* *California Star*, June 19, 1847, also *Alla California*, June 14, 1849, and earlier dates.

† Fitch, in the *Century*, Vol. xi, p. 779. On the alcalde, see Royce, "California," pp. 200 et seq.; Hittell, "History of California," Vol. ii, pp. 656 et seq.; Mosca, "Municipal Government in San Francisco," pp. 93 et seq.; newspapers of the period, etc.

the Americans, more especially the newly appointed *alcaldes*, had brought their own notions of common law principles and forms. At once a process of amalgamation was commenced, and very naturally the American law—not very accurately represented, to be sure—rapidly supplanted the obsolescent customs and procedure. Although there seems to have been no early official decree to warrant it, the trial by jury\* was soon in common practice, fairly well defined and understood, and sanctioned by the governor.† Likewise it was recognized that the English language would inevitably supplant the Spanish.‡

Commodore Stockton had prepared a plan for civil government, and had drafted a constitution; but this was never put in full operation. His purpose was thwarted by a serious revolt of the natives, to put down which involved considerable time and fighting and some bloodshed. Before the authorities were again in a position to undertake better civil organization, their plans were interfered with by several important and unexpected events. General Kearny entered California in November, 1846, and shortly afterward followed the unfortunate controversy as to the relative positions of the two officers.§

Who possessed the rightful authority to govern the conquered territory? The actual status of the country at the time of Kearny's arrival had not been, and could not be anticipated by Kearny's instructions. Weakened and humbled at San Pascual, his consciously delicate situation doubtless had much influence in deciding him to refrain

\* Nothing like the trial by jury was known to the Mexican system; but Walter Colton, the first American *alcalde* of Monterey, summoned at the early date of September 4, 1846, the first jury in California, he having been in office scarcely a month. Hittell, *op. cit.* Vol. ii, p. 663; Bancroft, *op. cit.* Vol. vi, p. 258.

† Mason's general order, issued December 29, 1847, directed trials by jury in all cases before the *alcaldes'* courts where the amount involved exceeded one hundred dollars. House Executive Documents, First Session, Thirty-first Congress, Vol. xvii, p. 452; Hittell, *op. cit.* Vol. ii, p. 664.

‡ *Californian*, October 10, 1846.

§ For details and evidence on both sides of this controversy, consult Bancroft, *op. cit.* Vol. vi, Cap. xvi, especially foot-notes.

from asserting his claim to the chief command at that time. Stockton even states that he proffered Kearny the chief command, and that the latter declined it. Even assuming as established that Kearny originally had the right to command, it is easy to understand how, under the peculiar circumstances, Stockton might come to regard himself as possessing permanent precedence. So, when a little later Kearny asserted his authority, Stockton firmly refused to recognize it. The controversy deepened; Kearny, having an insufficient command to enforce his claims, decided to await further instructions from Washington; it is certain that Stockton was generally recognized by the people as military commander and territorial governor until the date of his departure. On January 14, 1847, he tendered Colonel Frémont his commission as governor of the territory. For a term of perhaps fifty days Frémont, having acted in direct disobedience to Kearny's orders, was quite generally recognized as governor; during these days Kearny's claims were of course not relinquished. Instructions came in February positively directing that the senior officer of the land forces (Kearny) should be civil governor. Then followed the Frémont-Kearny controversy the upshot of which was the court-martial of Frémont, his conviction, and subsequent remission of punishment.

On March 1 General Kearny, jointly with Commodore Shubrick, then commander of the naval forces as Stockton's successor, issued a circular in which he formally assumed the governorship, and designated Monterey as the capital.\* This proclamation seems to have had the immediate effect

\* "California Message and Correspondence," pp. 288-89. I quote a portion to show the status as he conceived it, and the good intentions looking to an organized government: "The President of the United States having instructed the undersigned to take charge of the civil government of California, he enters upon his duties with an ardent desire to promote, as far as he is able, the interests of the country and the welfare of its inhabitants. . . . It is the wish and design of the United States to provide for California with the least possible delay, a free government similar to those in her other territories; and the people will soon be called upon to exercise their rights as freemen, in electing their own representatives to make such laws as may be deemed best for their interests and welfare."

of encouraging the Americans to look for the peace and tranquillity which should follow upon the establishment of the civil government expected.\* But the civil government, now so long anticipated, was not yet forthcoming; affairs continued in their extremely uncertain and almost chaotic state. Honest seekers after laws were unable to find them: the desideratum of exact statutes was unattainable to those common-sense pioneers. An interesting editorial, on "The Laws in Force," in the *Star* of March 27 says, in part:

"Some contend that there are really no laws in force here, but the divine law and the law of nature, while others are of the opinion that there *are* laws in force here if they could only be found. . . Both sides, however, seem to agree that the 'former usages' have been in force. . . We have not been able to discover any traces of written law particularly applicable to this territory except the Bandos of the Alcaldes which could not have been intended to apply to any except those within their jurisdiction. We have frequently heard it stated that there are general written laws of the people of the whole territory, but we have not as yet been able to discover their 'whereabouts.' . . . It seems to us that the continuance of the former laws in force, when it is impossible to produce them in any court in the country, or for the people to ascertain what they are, will be productive of confusion and difficulty."

Civil government to the non-Spanish reading Americans in California at this period was obviously entirely wanting as an objective reality. The growing dissatisfaction did not pass unexpressed; ominous murmurings began to be heard, and the alleged right of self-government found frequent utterance.†

\* See editorial in *Californian*, March 13, 1847.

† As early as August, 1846, the claim of the right of self-government began to be asserted. In the first number of the *Californian* is an editorial on the "Prospects of California," in which the editors affirm: "No impediment now exists to the establishment of a colonial government in California, all patriotic citizens should unite at once for this purpose." In the *Star* (April 17, 1847) a correspondent declares: "The people themselves, independently of Mexico, and with the consent of the officers of the United States now in command, have perfect right to enact laws for their own government."

While the early American settlers were dilating upon their wrongs and clamoring for their supposed rights, it scarcely occurred to them that on technical grounds it might be urged that they themselves were aliens to the United

On May 31, 1847, General Kearny left Monterey on his return to the United States, being succeeded in military and civil command by Colonel R. B. Mason, who was thus military commander with full power to establish temporary civil government. A single sentence from Secretary Marcy's letter of instructions will serve to indicate his position as contemplated by the administration:

"Under the law of nations the power conquering a territory or country has a right to establish a civil government within the same, as a means of securing the conquest, and with a view to protecting the persons and property of the people, and it is not intended to limit you in the full exercise of this authority."\*

Pending the establishment of a temporary civil government, the territory was plainly under military rule, and it is an unmistakable inference from his correspondence that Mason considered the supreme power vested in himself as senior military officer.† He heard the clamors for better organization, he recognized the needs of the American settlers as well as the disaffection of the Californians; but he felt the strictures of his own belligerent authority, and assumed, perhaps wisely, a conservative attitude. He expected within a very short time to "have the good tidings of peace," which should bring the certainty that California would forever belong to the United States.‡ While proclaiming the continued existence of former institutions and usages, as his predecessor had done, he virtually acknowledged his ignorance of the most important of these institutions:§ and

States in conquered territory. So far from considering themselves a *conquered* people, they took to themselves, in large measure, the credit of being the real *conquerors*,—for had they not welcomed the American forces, and rendered their commanders invaluable assistance? While they had left the United States, they yet accounted themselves perfectly loyal Americans, and rationally viewed, they were right. The highly strained and technical view that they were military captives (See Royce, "California," p. 200) hardly merits more than a mere mention. Manifest destiny had decreed California to become a part of our union.

\* "California Message and Correspondence," pp. 244-45.

† Ibid., pp. 317-18, 321.

‡ Ibid., pp. 318-19.

§ Ibid., pp. 317, 322; *California Star*, April 8, 1848, correspondence of "Pacific."

so that *quasi*-patriarchal officer, known as *alcalde*, was continued in the exercise of increasingly elastic and indefinite powers.

But notwithstanding the fact that Colonel Mason faithfully studied the situation, it became more and more evident that while the war with Mexico should continue, no satisfactory organization on the old Mexican basis could be reached. No action in Congress was now longer reasonably to be expected; Mason, as military ruler, maintained a strictly conservative policy and hoped for tidings of peace.\* Meanwhile, he set about discovering and formulating the "principal features of Mexican law applicable to the country at the time of the conquest." A few days before the news of peace reached him, he had ready for publication a code of laws "for the better government of California." This code, a volume of 140 pages, is said to have been printed in the English and Spanish languages; but on receipt of tidings of peace, Governor Mason withheld its publication, and so the much talked of, but ever invisible, "former laws and usages," of Mexico, theoretically in force in California, were destined to remain undiscovered to the eager Americans, nor was any attempt ever made to enforce the laws thus codified and thus withheld from the people.†

The territory of California was, then, under strict military rule during that period of Colonel Mason's governorship ending with the tidings of peace with Mexico, received August 6, 1848. Under the military rule the American settlers grew exceedingly restive; their murmuring became ominous growling and bitter complaint. The newspapers of the day reflect the general discontent.‡ The very absence of fixed, well-defined and generally understood law evoked

\*The *Californian*, May 3, 1847, says editorially: "We have been credibly informed that Governor Mason has relinquished the project of a civil organization . . . as he is in daily expectation of a communication from Washington probably appointing a governor and furnishing a pattern-code of laws."

† *Californian*, August 14, 1848; *Alla California*, June 4, 1849.

‡ See the *California Star*, June 26, *Californian*, June 5, 12, etc.

the loudest complaints. As the months passed, as immigration increased, as the country became gradually developed—all without a uniform system of law and with a government which no one understood,—the Americans conceived their already grievous wrongs greatly aggravated; hence the situation, already long unsatisfactory, was fast becoming critical.\* The more radical of the settlers began vigorously to denounce the early officers of the conquest and violently to assail the military government, and under the highly disturbed and half-chaotic condition of affairs there was incitement toward the movement of popular self-government.†

The discovery of gold early in 1848 was an event not calculated to mitigate the gravity of the situation. Some sort of law was made absolutely imperative by the great influx of gold hunters from all nations. The discovery gave an enormous impetus to the movement toward popular organization, especially state organization, and proved to Congress the futility of dallying longer with the question.

We have now followed the main current of political events in the province of California from the American conquest to the ratification of the treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico. The California Republic, proclaimed by Frémont, was nominal, short-lived, and, as a separate government, insignificant. The succeeding governors from Sloat to Mason held office by virtue of military, or naval rank. While the administrations of these rulers varied in efficiency, while their instructions usually allowed wide discretionary powers and were not always consistent, and while local conditions were constantly and materially changing, there was always military domination, under forms varying from merely nominal authority to strict martial law, up to the moment the treaty was ratified.

\*See the contemporaneous journals, especially "Pacific's" correspondence in the *Star*, April 8, 1848, and *Californian*, February 2, 1848.

†See controversy between "Pacific" and "Sober Second Thought" in the *Californian*, January-February, 1848.



Under this dominion, and deriving its sanction from it, was the effete, unsuited and increasingly unsatisfactory civil government, previously existent in the province, and now imperfectly perpetuated. Although the later military governors especially were given full power to establish a suitable temporary government, no such government was ever put in operation.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was concluded on February 2, 1848, and duly ratified at Querétaro on May 30. By its terms the territory of California was ceded to the United States, of which it became completely a part. News of the treaty reached California on August 6, and it was announced on the following day in a proclamation by Governor Mason. Of course there could be no apparent change in the government of the territory until after August 6; but technically from the moment of the ratification of the treaty the military rule was ended, and hence ceased to have obligatory authority. California now entered her most critical period, so often and so justly characterized as the "No-Government Period."\* In his proclamation announcing the treaty Mason takes an extremely hopeful view of the situation, and believes that "instead of revolutions and insurrections there will be internal tranquillity; instead of a fickle and vacillating policy, there will be a firm and stable government, administering justice with impartiality, and punishing crime with the strong arm of power."† He is fully convinced that Congress will soon confer upon the people the "constitutional rights of citizens of the United States," that a regular territorial government will be an accomplished fact, and

"There is every reason to believe that Congress has already passed the act, and that a civil government is now on its way to this country,

\* Bayard Taylor, "Eldorado" p. 146. Mr. Fitch asserts: "There was absolutely no precedent for the cession of the territory, and the neglect of Congress to provide territorial officers left California in the unique position of a land without a government."—*Century*, Vol. xl, p. 782; see Semple's statement in Convention, Browne's "Debates," p. 23.

† In the *Californian*, September 2, 1848.

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to replace that which has been organized under the rights of conquest."

Unfortunately the civil government was not so near at hand. California was destined to continue through many trying months practically without any organized form of government.

The great migrations to the land of gold had begun, for California had become the "focus of the world's attention," and was "to be morally and socially tried as no other American community ever has been tried."\* Mason continued as *de facto* head of the *quasi*-civil government under military rule, in daily expectation of instructions from Washington. He admitted that the territory was without civil government, and yet, keenly awake to the conditions as they then existed, he suffered technicalities to give way to practical common sense, judicially applied.†

The first session of the Thirtieth Congress adjourned August 14, leaving California in an anomalous condition. This fact was fully recognized by the President, who announced, through Secretary Buchanan, the existence of a *de facto* government, justifying it by the "great law of necessity."‡ "The termination of the war," wrote the secretary, "left an existing government *de facto*, in full operation, and this will continue, with the presumed consent of the people, until Congress shall provide for them a territorial government." In November, before it was known that Congress had adjourned without providing for its government, Commodore Jones arrived and held a conference with Acting-Governor Mason. Both were impressed with the necessity of immediate action, and they agreed that in default of the arrival of the sloop *St. Mary's* with the long-expected territorial government, the people should be encouraged to appoint delegates who should "frame laws and

\* Royce, "California," pp. 221-22, see Hittell, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 675.

† "California Message and Correspondence," p. 497.

‡ See Buchanan's letter, "California Message and Correspondence," pp. 6-9: it bears the date of October 9, 1848.

make other necessary arrangements for a provisional government of California."\*

The arrival of the *St. Mary's* with the not altogether unanticipated news of congressional failure to provide settled the question of territorial government during 1848. Secretary Buchanan, in his open letter to the people, advised them to "live peaceably and quietly under the existing government;" but to those conversant with the character of that *de facto* government and the rapidly shifting conditions—and to none more certainly than to Colonel Mason—it was perfectly obvious that to comply with Buchanan's request was daily becoming more difficult, and fast approaching the impossible. Even before the letter arrived, the people had begun to act upon their convictions. The "uncertain, amphibious character"† of the ruler and his strict adherence to a conservative policy, the vast influx of an extremely heterogeneous population, the daily augmentation of the criminal class and increase of depredations upon life and property, and the impotence of the half-Mexican, half-American judicial system are among the causes which appealed to all good citizens to be active in the organization of some suitable government with the least possible delay.

The first preparatory movement of the kind was an enthusiastic meeting of the citizens of Pueblo de San José.‡ Provisional government meetings, after the first of December, were frequent in San Francisco, San José and other leading towns of the territory. The sentiment in favor of a popular provisional government seems to have been practically unanimous among the thinking people. Stirring resolutions, drafted by some of the best legal talent of California, were adopted. The San José meeting recommended that a convention "for the purpose of nominating a suitable candidate for governor," and other suitable business, be held at that

\* *Star and Californian*, November 25, 1848.

† Von Holst, "History of the United States," Vol. III, p. 462.

‡ December 11, 1848. See *Star and Californian*, December 16.

place on the second Monday in January, 1849.\* At San Francisco a similar recommendation was adopted, the date of the proposed convention being fixed at the first Monday in March, 1849.† On February 12 the people of San Francisco met in mass meeting and established a temporary government for that district.‡ Thus the legislative assembly of San Francisco, comprising among its fifteen members the ablest local representatives of the settlers' theory of the legal status of California came into existence, with motives whose patriotism cannot be impeached and members most honored in California's annals.

On April 12, the *Iowa* landed with General Bennett Riley on board, who, on the following day, relieved Colonel Mason as Acting-Governor of California. On assuming command of the civil affairs it was General Riley's intention to complete the organization of the existing government and to call a convention "for forming a state constitution, or plan of territorial government, to be submitted to Congress for its approval."§ But, on further consultation, he deemed it best to postpone all such action until it might be ascertained what Congress had done in the short session. The steamer *Edith* bore him the information that the national legislature had again adjourned without making any provision for the civil government of California. He forthwith issued a proclamation, June 3,

"defining what was understood to be the legal position of affairs here, and pointing out the course it was deemed advisable to pursue in order to procure a new political organization better adapted to the character and present condition of the country."||

\* *Star and Californian*, December 23, 1848.

† Reasons for this proposed delay are set forth in the *Alla California*, January 4, 1849. Several dates were recommended by the various district meetings; but finally the first Monday of August—a date remote enough to allow the southern districts to be represented—was agreed upon. See *Alla California*, March 22.

‡ See address of the Assembly in reply to General Riley's proclamation against that body; published in the *Alla California*, August 9, 1848. The address is signed by Peter H. Burnett, Henry Harrison and S. R. Gerry.

§ See his letter to General Jones, "California Message and Correspondence," pp. 748-52.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 748. The proclamation is on pp. 776-80; also in *Alla California*, June 14.

In this proclamation—which had doubtless been in contemplation for some time, and which showed a careful study of the situation—Governor Riley appointed the first day of August for the selection of delegates to a general convention, which should convene in Monterey on the first of September following, and proceed to form a state constitution or a plan for territorial government.

In the meantime General Riley had been made aware of the existence and force of the San Francisco Legislative Assembly, which in the absence of government (as it claimed) had been assuming new and extended powers. It did not recognize any *civil* power as residing in General Riley, a military officer, but deemed itself entitled to frame a temporary government for the protection of life and property in the district,\* and to co-operate with the other districts in the movement toward popular organization. At this period, as throughout its short but useful career, the assembly was a loyal American body, numbering among its members many of California's most patriotic pioneers.† Considerable excitement was produced by the information that Congress had the second time failed to provide; this was greatly aggravated by the news of the extension of the revenue laws over California and the appointment of James Collier as collector. A public meeting being straightway held, a committee, with Peter Burnett as chairman, prepared an address protesting against the injustice of taxation without representation.‡ The assembly, through the committee's address, again took occasion to assert what it considered its undoubted right:

“ It is the duty of the government of the United States to give us

\* See Lippitt's article in the *Century*, Vol. x1, especially p. 795.

† The *Alta California* makes a strong case in its justification of the existence and legislation of the assembly. See, for instance, an editorial, June 14, 1849.

‡ In *Alta California*, June 14, 1849. It says, in part: “ For the first time in the history of the ‘model Republic.’ . . . the Congresses of the United States . . . have assumed the right not only to ‘tax us without representation,’ but to tax us without giving us any government at all.”

laws; and when that duty is not performed, one of the clearest rights we have left, is to govern ourselves."

Acting upon this supposed right, the assembly recommended a general convention to be held at San José on the third Monday in August,

"with enlarged discretion to deliberate upon the best measures to be taken; and to form, if they upon mature consideration should deem it advisable, a state constitution to be submitted to the people."

Before the address had been published, Governor Riley, fully cognizant of the powers assumed by the legislative assembly and of its recent actions, issued a proclamation\* to the people of San Francisco, pronouncing the "body of men styling themselves the 'legislative assembly of the district of San Francisco'" an illegal and unauthorized body, which had usurped powers vested solely in the Congress of the United States, and warning all persons "not to countenance said illegal and unauthorized body, either by paying taxes or by supporting or abetting their officers."† Now the committee's address, which had been adopted before the promulgation of Riley's proclamation to the people of the district, was not published until a few days after the promulgation of the same. Thus there was an appearance of reckless defiance on the part of the assembly, which did not in fact exist.‡

But now, at last, in the middle of June, 1849, the opposing theories with reference to the legal status of California from the ratification of the treaty with Mexico to the adoption of the constitution on November 13, 1849, had been clearly defined and respectively defended in the territory itself. The two conflicting theories may be designated as the Settlers' Theory, sometimes called the Benton Theory; and the Administration Theory, sometimes called the

\* "California Message and Correspondence," pp. 773-74.

† See Moses, *op. cit.*, p. 114; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, Vol. vi, pp. 277-78.

‡ See Burnett, "Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer," pp. 325-26.

Buchanan Theory.\* Since many of the salient features of both these have necessarily been set forth in the narrative, I must content myself with a rapid résumé, at this point.†

The leading advocate of the Settlers' Theory at Washington was Senator Benton. His recommendations to the people were substantially what the citizens were at that moment beginning of themselves to act upon in earnest.‡ Among the settlers themselves who were patriotic Americans interested in the permanent welfare of California, there was virtual unanimity of sentiment in favor of the Settlers' Theory.§ Without doubt a large part of the discussion was extremely passionate and biased; but that the moral and political wrongs endured by California during these critical months, and even years, were without parallel or precedent in our Union, is perfectly patent to any one at all acquainted with the conditions. One cannot expect an entirely dispassionate discussion or a calmly judicial poise amid such stirring, shifting, practical scenes in a place of world-confluence and a time so justly characterized as the No-Government Period.

Stripping the argument of all passion, the Settlers' Theory may be briefly stated as follows:¶ The moment the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo took effect, the Constitution

\* These names are applied mainly on the ground of mere convenience. There seems to be some doubt as to the exact position held by Buchanan and President Polk during the latter part of this period. Governor Burnett was of opinion that they adopted the view maintained by the more prominent settlers.—*Op. cit.*, p. 331.

† One of the best statements of the two theories extant is that of Burnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 329 et seq. Royce has a good statement in his "California" pp. 247 et seq. On this question see Mr. Botts' long speech in Browne's "Debates," pp. 274-84, and consequent discussion.

‡ His letter is in *Alta California*, January 11, 1849; see editorial comments, January 18.

§ See Burnett, *op. cit.*, p. 331, where he says: "Among the lawyers of California who had been here long enough to understand the true merits of the controversy, there was almost an entire unanimity in the opinion that only a *de facto* government could exist in the country, based upon the consent of the people. This was the view of three-fourths of the inhabitants."

¶ Allowance must of course be made in any construction of this theory as I have here formulated it, for individual variation and hence slight latitude for deviation in details.

of the United States and American principles were extended over the acquired territory of California. Although no territorial system of American civil law has been regularly extended over or established in California, the Mexican civil law has been in fact superseded. Congress, whose primary power to legislate is admitted,\* failing to provide a territorial government, it is no usurpation in the people to legislate temporarily for themselves in self-defence. As matter of fact, the government established during the war, was, at its conclusion continued as *de facto* government; but whereas it had before derived its authority from the rights of war, it now has no such source of power, but derives its authority from the "presumed consent of the people." A subordinate military officer can no longer legally fill the office of governor except by the sufferance of the people. While their presumed consent was "irresistibly inferred" by Secretary Buchanan in an *a priori* manner, it was historically entirely unreal; instead of consent there was express dissent and repeated protest against the *de facto* government.† Again, since the President, through his secretary, "urgently advises the people of California to live peaceably and quietly under the existing government," he evidently believes that the people had the *right* to change it. Because of the extraordinary exigencies of the situation, the Legislative Assembly of San Francisco was rightfully and legally formed, and the communities of Sonoma and Sacramento city followed the example, thus exercising temporary legislative power as the practical application of the rights implied by American citizenship.‡

Opposed to the Settlers' Theory was that which I have called the Administration Theory, which was maintained by

\* This congressional authority, however, was not universally admitted. Mr. Botts emphatically denied it. See his conclusions in Browne's "Debates," p. 284.

† See *Alta California*, August 9, 1849, and earlier dates; also Fitch, in the *Century*, Vol. xl, p. 783, etc.

‡ Report of governmental agent, Thomas B. King, as published in Frost's "History of the State of California," pp. 108 et seq.; also Fitch, *op cit*.



the last territorial governors, notably by General Riley. Riley states his position, which is in accord with his instructions, in his proclamation to the people given May 3, 1849. This theory may be briefly summarized: Under a general principle of the law of nations, the laws of California, which were proclaimed to be in force after the American conquest, must, at the conclusion of peace with Mexico, continue in full force until changed by competent authority. That authority is vested solely in Congress. Hence, Congress failing to make other provision for the territory, the system of laws, defective as it is, which obtained under military rule, must in so far as they are not inconsistent with the laws, constitutions, and treaties of the United States, continue in force under the civil government *de facto*; the commanding military officer, by virtue of a vacancy in the office of governor, is *ex officio* civil governor. The Legislative Assembly of San Francisco, or any similar body, therefore, purporting to represent the people and presuming to legislate for them, is an illegal and unauthorized body, having usurped powers vested solely in the United States Congress.

I shall not attempt finally to decide this vexed question, by a technical argument, in favor of the one theory or the other. Without doubt, judged from a moral standpoint, the settlers were in the right, and would on the social ground of self-defence, have been justified in forming for themselves a temporary territorial government. Fortunately for state organization, as the event proved, they did not. On strictly legal grounds, Riley's position was in the main probably the more nearly correct, although he, as *ex officio* governor, as well as the administration at Washington, failed to maintain complete consistency.

Shortly after General Riley's proclamation of May 3, in which he appointed August 1, as the date for the election of delegates who should meet in constitutional convention in Monterey, on the first of September, events took place which should serve at once to show the patriotism of the

leading settlers and to give additional color to the legality of Riley's position. What the people wanted was an organized government; the end was paramount, the means secondary. Hence indications of satisfaction with, and acquiescence in Riley's plans began almost immediately to manifest themselves. The people of San José expressed their satisfaction June 7, other districts followed them. The controverted points seem to have been waived by many, and popular interest in the question of legal status was fast waning. On June 12 a committee of five from the San Francisco Legislative Assembly had been appointed to correspond with other districts relative to the proposed general convention of the people on their own authority. The committee, representing the stronghold of the Settlers' Theory, viewing the changing situation and recognizing the importance of success in the one desire of all parties, recommended the propriety "of acceding to the time and place mentioned by General Riley, in his proclamation, and acceded to by the people of some other districts." This concession, the committee held, was not one of principle, but a matter of mere expediency, for they still refused to recognize any rightful authority to *appoint* times and places as residing in General Riley.\*

Thus the controversy was practically at an end, and with it died the mild revolution by the fiat of the people who created it. The legislative assembly ceased to exist. The members "were unwilling to use the powers vested by the people in them for the production or perpetuation of civil strife."† The general acquiescence in the plans of General Riley marked the emergence of California from a period of most remarkable internal disquietude, characterized, however, by extremely little violence, and left little doubt of speedy and satisfactory organization.‡

\* *Alla California*, June 20, 1849; see Burnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-26.

† From the *Alla's* editorial on "The End of Revolution."

‡ In the early spring of 1849 Mr. Thomas Butler King had been sent as secret agent of the government to California to acquire the fullest possible information

The coming convention was now the one theme of discussion, so far indeed as all political discussion was not lost in the gold excitement. For the few intervening months before its assembling, the Mexican system of law must be put in operation. In order that it might be known, as well as possible, what the law really was, a translation and digest of such portions of the Mexican laws as were supposed to be still in force, was prepared by Secretary Halleck and Translator Hartnell, and three hundred copies were, on July 2, ordered for distribution among the officers.\* In the South this worked naturally, but it was decidedly awkward in the towns and among the miners of the North. As a mere temporary arrangement while the country was being flooded with immigrants, it gave moderate satisfaction.†

The Constitutional Convention was at hand; this tardy digest excited little popular attention; few but lawyers cared to antagonize it. Complaints and pessimism were passing away; the glittering prospect of the new régime now at last amounted to assurance; it may almost be said to have been ushered in antecedently to the one event which made it actual,—namely, the making of the constitution.

ROCKWELL D. HUNT.

*University of the Pacific.*

and to urge the people to give themselves a state constitution that they might petition Congress for admission into the union. "California Message and Correspondence," pp. 9-11. King arrived in California at the time when General Riley's proclamations were being issued. Here we come upon one of the happiest coincidences of California's history. The leading settlers of the territory loyally acquiesced in the *de facto* governor's plans, which also were thus approved by anticipation in Washington (instructions dated April 3), for Riley had resolved on calling a convention of the people's representatives before the arrival of King.

\* This digest is in Browne's "Debates," app. xxiv et seq.

† Willey, in *Overland Monthly*, Vol. ix, p. 15.

## PERSONAL NOTES.

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### AMERICA.

**Harvard University.**—Dr. Morton Arnold Aldrich has been appointed Instructor in Economics at Harvard University. Dr. Aldrich was born January 6, 1874, at Boston, Mass., and obtained his early education in the Boston High School. In 1891 he entered Harvard College and graduated in 1895 with the degree of A. B. The next year he spent in travel in Asia, and the summer of 1896 he devoted to a study of the labor movement in England. He then took post-graduate courses in Berlin, Munich, Halle and Harvard Universities. In 1897 he received the degree of Ph. D. from the University of Halle.

Dr. Aldrich is a member of the American Economic Association and of the American Statistical Association. He has written the following books:

"*Die Arbeiterbewegung in Australien und Neu Seeland.*" (First part.) Doctor Dissertation, Halle, 1897.

"*Die Arbeiterbewegung in Australien und Neu Seeland.*" (Second part.) Jahrbücher für National-ökonomie und Statistik.

"*The American Federation of Labor*" Pp. 48. Economic Studies of the American Economic Association, August, 1898.

**Mr. Edward Henry Warren** has been appointed Instructor in Political Economy at Harvard University. Mr. Warren was born on January 11, 1873, at Worcester, Mass. He attended the Worcester Public Schools and entered Harvard University in 1891. He graduated from that institution in 1895 with the degree of A. B. He then became Instructor in Sociology at the New York University, and at the same time pursued post-graduate study at Columbia University. In 1896 he received the degree of A. M. from Columbia University. The same year he became a Fellow in Political Economy at Harvard, and during the past year he has been Assistant in Political Economy at Harvard University. Mr. Warren is a member of the American Historical Association.

**Lehigh University.**—Mr. John Lammey Stewart has been appointed Professor of History and Economics at Lehigh University.

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Dr. Stewart was born Nov. 1859, attended the public schools of Pennsylvania, from which he graduated in 1889. He has since pursued the Central Manual Training School, which position Professor Stewart is a member of the American Association in the American Academy of Political Science. Librarian of the American Academy from the date of its foundation, and the book department of the Academy.

**Princeton University.**—Dr. W. H. Stewart was appointed Assistant Professor of Political Economy at Princeton University. During the series of articles to *Scribner's Magazine* reprinted in the following two books: "*The Workers—The East*," Pp. 1-100; "*The Workers—The West*," Pp. 1-100.

**Vanderbilt University.**—Dr. Charles E. Elmer was born November 17, 1857, studied at the Cooper Academy in Antioch College, where he remained two years. The next year he entered Michigan College, Trenton, Mo., where he remained two years he studied at the University of Wisconsin the degree of Ph. M. He was then appointed teacher of History and Political Economy at Columbia University and received that institution in 1897. During the time Elmer has written: "*An Analysis of Agricultural Disasters in 1897*," and March, 1898. Reprinted for distribution.

\* See ANNALS, Vol. VI, p. 207, September, 1895.

Dr. Stewart was born November 18, 1867, in Philadelphia. He attended the public schools of that city, and the University of Pennsylvania, from which he graduated with the degree of Ph. B. in 1889. He has since pursued post-graduate studies in that institution. In 1890 Mr. Stewart was appointed Professor of English Literature at the Central Manual Training School, and in 1891 he was appointed Professor of Political Economy and History at the Northeast Manual Training School, which position he has held until the present time. Professor Stewart is a member of the American Economic Association, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He has been Librarian of the American Academy of Political and Social Science from the date of its foundation, and has been a frequent contributor to the book department of the ANNALS.

**Princeton University.**—Dr. Walter A. Wyckoff\* has been advanced to the position of Assistant Professor of Political Economy at Princeton University. During the past two years he has contributed a series of articles to *Scribner's Magazine*, which have since been reprinted in the following two books:

"*The Workers—The East.*" Pp. 278. New York, 1897.

"*The Workers—The West.*" New York, 1898.

**Vanderbilt University.**—Dr. Charles Franklin Emerick has been appointed Instructor in Economics in Vanderbilt University. Dr. Emerick was born November 17, 1867, near Dayton, Ohio. He studied at the Cooper Academy in Dayton, and in 1885 entered Antioch College, where he remained two years. He then entered Wittenberg College and graduated in 1889 with the degree of A. B. The next year he entered Michigan Agricultural College and received the degree of M. S. in 1891. Dr. Emerick was then appointed teacher of History and Political Economy at Avalon College, Trenton, Mo., where he remained until 1894. The next two years he studied at the University of Michigan, receiving in 1895 the degree of Ph. M. He was then appointed Fellow in Economics at Columbia University and received the degree of Ph. D. from that institution in 1897. During the past year he has been Assistant in Economics at Vanderbilt University.

Dr. Emerick has written:

"*An Analysis of Agricultural Discontent in the United States.*" Pp. 100. Political Science Quarterly, September and December, 1897, and March, 1898. Reprinted for doctor's dissertation at Columbia.

\* See ANNALS, Vol. vi, p. 297, September, 1895.

IN ADDITION to those previously mentioned,\* the following students received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy for work in political and social science and allied subjects during the past year:

**Bryn Mawr College.**—Nellie Neilson, A. M. Thesis: *Economic Conditions on Ramsey Manors.*

**University of Pennsylvania.**—Edith Bramhall, A. M. Thesis: *The Temporal Privileges of the Crusaders.*

Walter Jacob Branson, Ph. B. Thesis: *The Primary Election System in Philadelphia.*

Henry Lewin Cannon, A. B. Thesis: *A Study in the Rise of English Lollardy.*

Charles Hallan MacCarthy. Thesis: *Reconstruction under President Lincoln.*

William Rolla Patterson, Ph. B. Thesis: *The Relation of State and Municipality to Pawnbroking in Europe and in the United States.*

**University of Wisconsin.**—Paul Samuel Reinsch, A. B., LL. B. Thesis: *The Attitude of the American Colonies to the English Common Law.*

IN ADDITION to those previously mentioned,† the following appointments to post-graduate scholarships have been made for the year 1898-99:

**Bryn Mawr College.**—*Fellowship in History*, Edith Bramhall, A. M. *Fellowship in Political Science*, Emily Fogg, A. B.

**University of Pennsylvania.**—*Joseph M. Bennett Fellowship in European History*, Caroline Colvin, A. B. *George Leib Harrison Senior Fellowship in Economics*, Walter E. Weyl, Ph. D.; *in European History*, Arthur Charles Howland, Ph. D. *George Leib Harrison Fellowships in American History*, Herbert Eugene Bolton, L. B., and Claude H. Van Tyne, A. B.; *in Economics*, Edwin Sherwood Meade, A. B.; *in Political Science*, William Harvey Allen, A. B.; *in Sociology*, George Ray Wickes, A. B.; *George Leib Harrison Scholarship in English and History*, John Louis Haney, A. B.; *in History and Economics*, Frederick Logan Paxson, A. B.; *in History and Philosophy*, James Field Willard, A. B.

**University of Wisconsin.**—*Honorary Fellowship in Economics*, Massasada Shiozawa, A. B. *University Fellowship in Economics*, Henry C. Taylor, B. S. A.; *in History*, Louis M. Ward, B. L., and Jennie C. Watts, A. B.

\* See ANNALS, Vol. xii, p. 262, September, 1898.

† Ibid, p. 263.

## BOOK DEPARTMENT.

### NOTES.

PROFESSOR VON BÖHM-BAWERK'S contribution to the memorial volume of essays drawn up in 1896 in honor of Karl Knies has been admirably translated into English by Mrs. Alice M. Macdonald under the title of "Karl Marx and the Close of His System, A Criticism."\*

The occasion of this criticism was the appearance of the third and last volume of Marx's great work on "Capital" in 1894, just nine years after the second volume and nearly thirty years after the first. This third volume contains the attempted reconciliation of the labor theory of value with the observed tendency of profits to seek a level, and it is this reconciliation which serves Böhm-Bawerk as material on which to exercise his unequalled critical faculty. In a brief "introduction" he indicates the nature of the opposition or "contradiction" with which Marx was confronted. A detailed exposition of this contradiction, accompanied by a running fire of criticism, occupies three chapters treating of: "The Theory of Value and Surplus Value," "The Theory of the Average Rate of Profit and the Price of Production" and "The Question of the Contradiction." A fourth chapter discusses "The Error in the Marxian System—Its Origin and Ramifications," while the study concludes with a criticism of an article by an apologist of Marx, Werner Sombart.

Briefly expressed, Böhm-Bawerk finds Marx guilty of borrowing his theory that value is in proportion to quantity of labor from the English economists, of proving this "law" by means of fallacious dialectic, and basing his whole exploitation theory of profits upon it without once putting it to the test of experience. That value is not in proportion to quantity of labor, but is also affected by the amount of capital employed in production, was however too obvious to be ignored. Marx's theory called for a variable rate of profits, experience points to a level or an average rate of profits. Chapter X of Volume III tries to explain experience without abandoning theory and fails, as any such attempt must fail. The contradiction is irreconcilable, and Marx's "invulnerable" system is exploded.

Scientific socialism has never gained more than a corporal's guard

\* With a preface by James Bonar. Pp. 221. Price, \$1.60. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898.



of followers in this country. Yet the exploitation theory of profits is of considerable scientific interest, and this new exposition and criticism of it should fall into the hands of many readers. As a discussion of the right and wrong applications of different methods of economic analysis it is exceedingly suggestive.

INTO A SMALL VOLUME\* Professor Butler has collected the address delivered before the Liberal Club of Buffalo in November, 1896, on "The Meaning of Education;" the presidential address delivered before the National Educational Association at Denver in July, 1895, on "What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?" another address before the same association in Buffalo, July, 1896, on "Democracy and Education;" the presidential address before the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, at Easton, in November, 1895, on "Is There a New Education?" the address delivered before the Schoolmasters' Association of New York and vicinity in March, 1890, on "The Function of the Secondary School;" and two articles, one of which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in March, 1894, on "Reform of Secondary Education in the United States," while the other constituted the introduction to the English translation of Paulsen's "German Universities," published in 1895, on "The American College and the American University."

Apart from its general felicity in style and the interest which attaches to whatever a specialist such as Professor Butler has to say on the constantly recurring aspects of modern education, the volume before us is of special interest to students of social science, first, because it indicates a clear perception of the large part which social science studies must play in any rational system of education in a democracy; and secondly, because the book itself is imbued with the spirit of much of the best recent writings on social topics. A few sentences will serve to justify the above statements: "In a democracy at least, an education is a failure that does not relate itself to the duties and opportunities of citizenship." "Science is wholly a matter of method; it is knowledge classified, and nothing more. The knowledge so classified may be knowledge of plants, or of heavenly bodies, or of the human body, or of forms of government, or of education." "In society as it exists to-day the dominant note, running through all of our struggles and problems, is economic—what the old Greeks might have called political. Yet it is a constant fight to get any proper

\* *The Meaning of Education and Other Essays and Addresses.* By NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER. Pp. xi, 230. Price, \$1.00, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898.

teaching from the economic and social point of view put before high school and college students. They are considered too young or too immature to study such recondite subjects, although the nice distinctions between the Greek moods and tenses and the principles of conic sections, with their appeal to the highly trained mathematical imagination, are their daily food. As a result thousands of young men and young women, who have neither the time, the money, nor the desire for a university career, are sent forth from the schools either in profound ignorance of the economic basis of modern society, or with only the most superficial and misleading knowledge of it. The indefensibility of this policy, even from the most practical point of view, is apparent when we bear in mind that in this country we are in the habit of submitting questions, primarily economic in character, every two or four years to the judgment and votes of what is substantially an untutored mob."

Readers of the first chapter on "The Meaning of Education" will do well to compare Professor Butler's unequivocal endorsement of Mr. Fiske's "Theory of the Prolongation of Infancy" with the criticism of this theory made by Professor Giddings in the latter's "Principles of Sociology," first edition, p. 229.

A VALUABLE SUPPLEMENT to the existing literature concerning John Stuart Mill is his "*Correspondance Inédite avec Gustave d'Eichthal*,"\* just brought out by the son of the latter in the *Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine*. In addition to translating the thirty-eight letters from Mill and the two from the younger Tooke contained in the collection, the editor, M. Eugène d'Eichthal, has supplied an excellent introduction, which describes the origin and course of the friendship to which these letters are a lasting memorial. The correspondents met first in London in 1828, when Mill was twenty-two and d'Eichthal was twenty-four years of age. The interchange of letters, which began the following year, was continued at irregular intervals until 1842. After a lapse of twenty-two years it was resumed in 1864 and continued until 1871, two years before Mill's death. During the earlier period the two friends relied upon each other for information in regard to the progress of events in their respective countries. D'Eichthal was an ardent disciple of Saint Simon and at the same time a great admirer of the English. Mill appears as a friendly critic of the followers of Saint Simon and also of his own countrymen. He sees much to admire

\* Pp. xvii, 238. Price, 2 fr. 50. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1898.

in France which d'Eichthal overlooks. On religious questions they were very much in accord.

As a whole the letters do not contain anything that is absolutely new, but they show Mill in one of those personal relations which reveal so much in regard to a writer's character. Beginning with but a mild interest in the school of Saint Simon, he came in later years to regard himself as identified with the spirit it represented. He speaks with more freedom of Auguste Comte in these letters than in his essay on that writer, and describes him as unjust not only to Saint Simon but "in general toward all of those who have ceased to please him" (p. 201). The change which Mill's economic ideas underwent during the later years of his life is indicated by comparing the following sentences written in 1867 with what he says in regard to population in his "Political Economy:" "The question of the number of children in a family appears to me to be more important from the point of view of morals than from that of political economy, for in the present condition of the human race, the great increase of wealth, on the one hand, and the growing tendency toward emigration on the other, have very much lessened the significance of the problem of population as an economic problem."

In addition to the letters to d'Eichthal five letters from that author to Mill containing a very clear account of the ideas and aims of the school of Saint Simon are published in the series.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY announces in its fall list the third and concluding volume of Ratzel's "History of Mankind," volumes three and four of Hart's "American History Told by Contemporaries" and "A Source Book of American History" for use in the secondary schools, by the same author. Other works in history are "The United Kingdom: A Political History," by Goldwin Smith; "The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom," by Wilbur H. Siebert; "European History: an Outline of its Development," by George B. Adams, and "Philadelphia," by Miss Agnes Repplier. Among the new works on economics, etc., are "The Distribution of Wealth," by John B. Clark; "Economics," by Edw. T. Devine, and "The Elements of Sociology," by Franklin Henry Giddings.

PROFESSOR SOMBART's little book on "Socialism,"\* which was so

\* *Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century*. By WERNER SOMBART, Professor in the University of Breslau. With a Chronicle of the Social Movement, 1750-1896. Translated by Rev. Anson P. Atterbury. With an Introduction by Professor John B. Clark. Pp. xvii, 199. Price. \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898.

favorably received in Germany, has just been translated into English. The reputation of the translator, coupled with Professor Clark's statement in his introductory note that it represents a new and worthy departure in the method of studying socialism, should secure it many readers in this country. The book contains a sympathetic account of the socialistic labor movement in this century, together with an attempted explanation of the underlying causes of this movement. The author does not preach nor condemn the doctrines he discusses; in brief space, he succeeds in showing the relations of many of these doctrines to the economic causes that lead to their acceptance or rejection on the part of different individuals in society. Readers familiar with the life and writings of Karl Marx will recognize the strong impress that Marx has made upon the author. Indeed, it will doubtless seem to many that Marx is somewhat overrated in the volume.

IN A VOLUME of some two hundred and sixty pages Professor Smith has grouped together some of the leading cases on the law of municipal corporations\* under a number of headings relating to corporate powers, rights and liabilities. The work is intended for class-room instruction, where it will prove particularly useful. The increasing importance of this branch of the law makes it a matter of great moment to the profession that special training in it be offered in all our law schools. Much of the existing misapprehension as to the possibilities and limitations of municipal power and activity is due to confused notions in regard to the prevailing rules of law. It is probably asking too much to expect others than law students to examine the contents of such a volume. The light thrown upon our municipal system by the skillful arrangement of cases is more instructive than volumes of descriptive analysis. It is to be hoped that Professor Smith will continue the work he has thus undertaken, giving us a more complete collection of cases on such important subjects as the limitations of legislative control and the implied powers of the municipality. With these chapters enlarged the work will become an indispensable adjunct to the study of our municipal system.

PROFESSOR WOODROW WILSON has just brought out a revised edition of his useful text-book on "The State."† Aside from the

\* *Cases on Selected Topics in the Law of Municipal Corporations.* By JEREMIAH SMITH, Story Professor of Law in Harvard University. Pp. 260. Cambridge: Harvard Law Review Publishing Company, 1898.

† *The State. Elements of Historical and Practical Politics.* By WOODROW WILSON, Ph. D., LL. D. Revised Edition. Pp. xxxv, 656. Price, \$2.00. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1898.

combination of the first two chapters into one chapter, and the expansion of the third chapter into two, the table of contents of the new edition indicates but few changes in the work. The thirty pages that are cut off of its length are more than balanced by the three lines added to each page, and the relative space assigned to each topic is little changed. A careful examination of the body of the work reveals the fact, however, that the whole book has been carefully rewritten. The descriptive material is everywhere brought down to date, while nearly every page is improved by the introduction of some happy turn of expression or more telling illustration. Always an ardent believer in style as an indispensable adjunct to historical writing, the author in this latest work shows how much higher his own standard of literary execution has become since the book first saw the light in 1889. Since it is already in use as a text-book in Cambridge University, England, and in over a hundred colleges in this country, this new edition of "The State" is sure of a wide circulation. The publishers announce that a Japanese edition has recently been brought out.

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REVIEWS.

*Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction.\** By WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph. D. Pp. 376. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898.

It would be difficult to find a more thorough corrective for many of the current misconceptions as to the place of our written constitution in the political life of the country than the series of essays contained in this volume. For this reason, if for no other, every student of political science will give it a warm welcome as an important contribution to American constitutional history. It is true that the author restricts the discussion within definite and rather narrow limits, but the period covered is fraught with so many political lessons that this limitation of scope is an advantage rather than a defect.

Probably no other period of American history has received such diverse constitutional interpretation, owing largely to the fact that few writers have as yet been able to divest themselves of the strong prejudices and passions which dominated the period. Furthermore, an adequate presentation of the subject requires a degree of discrimination and philosophic grasp which few writers possess. Owing to a

\*The following are the chapter headings: The Constitution of the United States in the Civil War; The Constitution of the United States in Reconstruction, Military Government during Reconstruction; The Process of Reconstruction; The Impeachment and Trial of President Johnson; Are the States Equal Under the Constitution? American Political Philosophy.

rare combination of these qualities, Professor Dunning has given us a series of pictures of the process of reconstruction which will certainly throw much light upon this obscure period of our constitutional development. Probably the quality which has contributed more than any other to the suggestiveness of the work is the readiness with which the author discards traditional constitutional formulæ when they do not harmonize with facts.

The story which Professor Dunning tells is one long conflict between the spirit of legality and the uncompromising necessities of military rule. In this conflict all the accepted theories of "sovereignty," of "division of governmental powers," of "constitutional checks and balances," were swept away in a current of political opinion which justified every arbitrary assumption of authority, first by the executive and then by the legislative. The author clearly shows that all the ordinary standards of constitutional interpretation are inadequate in judging the political events of the period. At one time or another every one of the safeguards to individual liberty were, for a time at least, in abeyance. The readiness with which Congress passed "indemnity acts," and the constant negation of the principle of individual official responsibility were extreme expressions of a settled determination on the part of the people of the North to break the power of the rebellious states and to make them conform to those standards of constitutional procedure which the North regarded as essential to the preservation of the union. One of the important phases of the reconstruction period which is brought out with great clearness in the essay on "The Constitution of the United States in the Civil War," is the undisputed sway of the political as distinct from the judicial organs of the government. In fact, the judiciary was in a condition of subservience to the executive and legislative, a position which stands in marked contrast with the relation before 1860 and after 1870. It is true that this temporary eclipse was largely of the judiciary's own making and is a signal tribute to the political wisdom and far-seeing judgment of the supreme and lower bench. In view of the state of popular feeling and the attitude of the legislative and executive, there is but little doubt that had the judiciary endeavored to assert its power in antagonism to the legislative or executive, the authority of that branch of our government would have received a blow from which it would never have recovered. It was a time when neither the people nor the political organs of the government would brook opposition.

Probably the most interesting chapter in the book is the essay on "The Constitution of the United States in Reconstruction" (pp. 63-136). The endeavor of political leaders in Congress and of

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the President to formulate political theories to justify such a treatment of the rebellious states as they desired, furnishes one of the most curious illustrations of the adaptation of political theory to specific practical ends. The author shows with great skill how the theory of "forfeited state rights" was evolved as a compromise out of the various conflicting theories then advanced.

In the chapter on "Are the States Equal Under the Constitution?" a chapter which is but indirectly connected with the main topic of the work, Professor Dunning shows the wide differences in the treatment of territories upon their admission into the union and the nature of the restrictions upon state legislation which Congress has assumed to be within its constitutional powers. The broad interpretation of the power of Congress to admit states into the union has practically resulted in giving to the national government a control of some of the leading questions of state policy. The conclusion of the author is that "at no time since the formation of the present constitution have all the states of the union been in the enjoyment of equal powers under the laws of Congress."

Throughout the work, dealing as it does with some of the most complex and delicate problems of government, the author gives evidence of a political judgment and of an ability to weigh the merits and defects of political measures which few modern writers have equalled, and none excelled. The best evidence of this is to be found in his clear grasp of the situation that confronted the executive and legislative between 1863 and 1870. We are not burdened with long jeremiads on the "wounding of the constitution" or the "tyranny of popular majorities." The author clearly shows that the interests of the country were best served by the assumption of authority by the executive and legislative. Had the judiciary become involved in the struggle the process of reconstruction would have extended over a longer period and would have been attended with far greater evils.

If the present volume is an indication of the kind of work we are to expect of Professor Dunning, it is to be hoped that he will expand the fragmentary essay on "American Political Philosophy" with which he closes the book, approaching the subject in the same scientific spirit.

L. S. ROWE.

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*The Science of Political Economy.* BY HENRY GEORGE. Pp. xxxix, 545. Price, \$2.50. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co., 1898.

There are few real admirers of Henry George to whom the publication of this book will bring anything but keen regret. Under the

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most favorable conditions, it may be doubted whether the author of "Progress and Poverty" could have accomplished his avowed purpose of restating the principles of political economy in constructive rather than in controversial form. The propagandist turned text-book writer is an unpromising transition, of which the resultant is ordinarily more attractive in style than enduring in content. If to pre-eminent unsuitness for judicial statement be added the special circumstances of unfinished composition and posthumous publication, the product can only be complete failure.

Despite its bulk, Mr. George's "Science of Political Economy" is practically a fragment. The announcement of the publisher that the work "was intended by Henry George to be the crowning achievement of his life," and the statement of the editor (Mr. Henry George, Jr.,) that it was "in its main essentials completed," are simply irreconcilable. Neglecting positive lacunæ, both those noted by the editor and those unmarked but manifest in any careful reading of the text, and omitting the typographical expansion of author's memoranda into formal chapters of one, two or three pages in length, the incompleteness of the book is evident in the distribution of its contents. Book I, "The Meaning of Political Economy," extends over 104 pages; Book II, "The Nature of Wealth," requires 200 pages, but Book IV, "The Distribution of Wealth," covers only 46 pages. In Book III, "The Production of Wealth," three successive chapters treating of Land, Labor and Capital, respectively, require in the aggregate five pages, something less than one-half of the space given in the same book to a single chapter treating "Of Space and Time."

The features of the work are a discussion, pretentious rather than novel, of general philosophical principles; a vigorous résumé of the development of economic science from the physiocrats to "the most recent purveyors of economic nonsense in Anglo-German jargon;" a fundamental distinction between so-called "value in production" and "value in obligation;" emphatic insistence upon a natural law of distribution, and a clear statement of the primary functions of money. Throughout the book there is nothing essential which Mr. George had not already said, and little which he had not said better. The style, lightened here and there by characteristic flashes, is on the whole less fluent and vigorous than that of "Progress and Poverty," while its force is marred throughout by a bitter though comprehensible attack upon academic economists and their teachings. The book appears in luxurious form, and contains an admirable portrait of Mr. George taken shortly before his tragic end.



The time is not remote—it has perhaps come—for a detailed criticism and a general estimate of Henry George as an economist; not of the powerful agitator, nor of the great-hearted reformer, but of the acute critic and the virile thinker. But the immediate occasion for this should be something other than posthumous fragments, which even the most appreciative reader leaves, assenting to the application of McCulloch's dictum upon Robert Hamilton's "Progress of Society:" it "might without injury to his fame or the public interests have been allowed to continue in manuscript."

J. H. HOLLANDER.

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*Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy.* By EDWIN L. GODKIN. Pp. 272. Price, \$2.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898.

Mr. Godkin's critical observations on politics, so familiar to readers of the *Nation*, occasionally lead to interesting and important conclusions respecting American political institutions in general. In the volume of essays before us he touches upon some aspects of these institutions which are at present exciting attention both in Europe and America. The first essay treats of equality, and in it the author desires to show that our ideas of equality have materially changed. In both the American and French revolutions "equality" signified the absence of exemptions and peculiar privileges, the equal liability of all men to burdens imposed by the state. This conception of equality interfered in no way with leadership as exercised by able and distinguished men; in fact one of the striking features of our early American history is seen in the deference paid to certain leaders of public opinion. At present this deference no longer exists. Our idea of "equality" has come to include equal political sagacity so that all men are held to be eligible to our highest offices and gifted with political insight. "The disregard of special fitness, combined with unwillingness to admit that there is anything special about any man . . . constitutes the great defect of modern democracy." According to the prevailing notion of "equality," says the author, experience and peculiar ability count for nothing. In an essay on the nominating system the author deals plainly with his subject. Our present method of nomination is, he declares, the "great canker of American institutions." The absence of the more intelligent and honest class of voters from the primaries is due first, to the great and increasing importance and variety of private affairs demanding close attention, and second, to the merely preliminary character of the primaries.

As to the decline of our legislatures, treated of in another essay, the author believes that it is well-nigh impossible for men of ability and independent thought to enter active political life. The boss everywhere stands in the way. Where such desirable men do secure a foothold through temporary subservience to the boss the author declares that their usefulness is greatly impaired by the existing methods of parliamentary procedure. The rules of our legislative bodies tend to suppress individuality and to render our representatives mere parts of a machine for transacting business; *i. e.*, for voting on bills and committee work. Legislatures as they are composed to-day excite the distrust of all classes. Mr. Godkin sees the cause of this partly in our economic condition. Hand in hand with the gradual lowering in the standard of legislative ability and capacity has come an enormous increase in the material wealth of the nation, and this increased material power finds itself largely in the hands of unscrupulous corporations. To legislative incompetence is added legislative corruption. The evil has been aggravated, as the writer explains, by the desire of individual legislators to retain prominence through the introduction of new legislation. We have more and poorer laws than ever before. The same thought was expressed by that American judge who, in the course of a decision, once declared that no man's life or property was safe while the legislature was in session. Do these conditions mark the definite decline of our legislatures? The author answers this query apparently in the affirmative. Democracies "seem to be getting tired of the representative system." With the exception of the constitutional convention representative assemblies are rapidly losing caste. Although nothing can compensate for the loss of popular interest in politics Mr. Godkin believes that much can be done to stimulate interest by a substitution of direct popular action for the representative system. He would especially favor an extension of the referendum.

The chief interest of the volume centres in the essay on the "Growth and Expression of Public Opinion." The great distinguishing feature of American public opinion has been seen to be the absence of acknowledged leaders. We have no admitted authority to guide the formation of general opinion, and this decay of authority in the realm of thought has led, as the author believes, to a marked disintegration of public opinion and to an absence of consistent party policy. "Neither party in America to-day has any fixed creed." The power of the boss is based largely on the fact that he crystallizes the scattered molecules of public opinion and produces therefrom a definite result. The author sees another

unfortunate feature of our public opinion in the decay of our ideal of political liberty, in the surrender of political power and the spirit of passive submission or indifference among the masses of our people. These are sacrifices to the golden calf. Public opinion "is moulded as never before by economic rather than by religious or moral or political considerations." As the acts repealing the English corn laws were passed solely "for the purpose of cheapening and enlarging the loaf," so is the world, and particularly America, "now governed mainly by ideas about the distribution of commodities." There can be little doubt about the correctness of this analysis. Private affairs are placed before politics, the individual before the public welfare by a large and, it seems, a growing class of Americans. Some readers will also agree with Mr. Godkin that the ultimate remedy is to be found in the referendum or some scheme of direct popular action in law-making. But meantime there are no signs of any such solution being adopted. The most decided difference of opinion exists with reference to the value of such a remedy. All present indications point rather to a further concentration of power in the hands of a few, not its return to the many. We are drifting toward a monocracy rather than a democracy. It is perhaps surprising that the author of "Unforeseen Tendencies" should mention this phenomenon yet lay no emphasis upon it. For many years the belief has been growing that in order to secure responsibility it is necessary to concentrate power; "we must trust some one" is a popular axiom in which the emphasis is being gradually laid on the "one." Collective bodies have become the object of deep mistrust. In order to secure a more complete responsibility on the side of the government we may choose one of two courses. Either we may discard the system of checks and balances by calling in a dictator or we may give back power and responsibility into the hands of the people by some plan of direct popular legislation. At present our desire for "a government without trouble" is rapidly leading us, not in the direction indicated by Mr. Godkin, but rather toward a dictatorship.

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*Law and Politics in the Middle Ages.* By EDWARD JENKS, M. A., Reader in English Law in the University of Oxford. Pp. 352. Price, \$2.75. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1898.

Despite Mr. Jenks' modest disclaimer of severe scholarship, this treatise must be looked upon as a substantial contribution to the none

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too abundant work in English on legal and political origins. In a sense, it is suppletory to Pollock and Maitland's "History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I," although not professedly so. It deals with the legal and political structure, in the formative period of the Middle Ages, of the group of communities which now exercise a dominant influence in the civilization of the world. The aim of the work is to separate from the mass of mediæval history, those institutions and ideas which have proven themselves destined for the future and to distinguish them from the survivals which belong to the past. And in this regard, Mr. Jenks is inclined to take exception to the scholastic attitude which traces the abiding elements of Teutonic laws and institutions to the sway of Roman influence over men's minds, since he finds the state idea as well as the genesis of our politics and law to be largely, if not preponderatingly, of indigenous growth.

Necessarily, the kind of evidence open to this sort of a study is limited to the law itself. But not to law in the Austinian sense, and, for this reason, the author has been forced at the start to take issue with that school and show, that in genesis at least, and especially in the period covered by the book, law was something more and something entirely different from the arbitrary command of the state. It is "law as the record of human progress, as the golden deposit of the stream of Time" that the author portrays. And nowhere is this progress to be studied to better advantage or the historical method more serviceable than in the development of the common law of England. At the time of the Norman Conquest, legal institutions in England were most rudimentary. But the Normans soon changed this. The admirable organization of soldiers, ecclesiastics, jurists and administrators which William brought with him to England as his court, enabled him and his successors to impose his system on the local English customs and build up a unified and uniform system of law for the entire kingdom, in marked contrast to the chaos of local custom and feudal observances which prevailed on the continent and especially in France. This soon became in truth the law of the land, a *lex terræ*, rather than the law of the people, the customs and laws of the Mercians, Saxons, Danes and English being gradually fused into national form by the system of royal judiciary and circuit sittings inaugurated by the Normans.

But the law, even under Norman administration, is something far different than the supreme command of authority, for the common law, as declared by the Norman judges, was the law of the land which they found and collected and in time reduced to uniformity throughout the kingdom. It was custom, habit and the result of experience crystallized, as it were, which became law on being declared

to be such by the judiciary. This process was crowned by the work of Edward, through whom the common law or folk law, working toward unity through the courts, became national and at the same time the expressed will of all the estates of the realm.

On the continent, on the other hand, and especially in France and Germany, law was feudal, local, seignorial and royal. It did not become national. This localism in law was one of the main obstacles to the royal policy of the kings who were slowly developing the kingdom of France, and yet despite royal efforts law remained to a large degree local till the hand of the Revolution and the Code Napoléon unified it.

In Germany the evils of *partikularismus* are seen in a deeper political light. Here we find attempts being made from time to time in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to nationalize the law of the land, but to no purpose. Feudalism was too potent, and in the closing years of the fifteenth century German law lost its power in a national sense and submitted to the Roman law, and the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian became the law of the land as it did in Scotland. But not in the sense that the common law of England became the law of the land, for in Germany the law of the local communities developed side by side with its more imperial sister.

But this is only one phase of the evolution. For the growth of communal habit into binding custom, which doubtless proceeded in much the same way in its early stages in all Teutonic countries, was accompanied by a sort of royal legislation in the nature of administrative edicts and capitula, which later developed into legislative acts proper.

In his discussion of politics and the state, the author accepts the work of Sir Henry Maine and Fustel de Coulanges, but finds the beginnings of modern Teutonic political existence, for his purpose, in the gentile society of the clan. This, under the exigencies of war and the wanderings of the people, gives place by necessity to a closer bond of union for fighting purposes. The clan eventually disappears as a political force through the elevation of the war chief, by the leagues of the clans. It is such bodies of men who invade Italy and Britain. But the new organism is based on principles foreign to gentile selection, for, existing as it does for war and plunder, it seeks the war chief wherever he is to be found. Of this class are Childeric, Clovis, Alaric and others. And in course of time these league chieftains tend to become hereditary.

Military strength and skill in war are the qualities which now command respect, and such qualities lead eventually to the disappearance of the old blood nobility supplanted by a nobility of the sword

and *clans*. By the time of Clovis the clan as a communal group in the mood of a common ancestor, and bound together by the ties of religion and kinship, has in large measure given way to a community of individuals united by military allegiance and the hope of conquest and plunder. Upon the vision of this heroic came the spectacle of the Roman empire, which dazzled the eyes of Clovis and his successors, who proceeded to adopt its forms and vestments. The interval between the time of Clovis and Henry the Fowler is filled with the attempt of these people to live up to the forms and ceremonies of ancient Rome.

Disintegration followed the failure of the Franks to establish an empire on the ruins of Western Rome, and the *fiefs*, into which the empire divided, were a sort of revival of the clan, a reversion to an older type, whose members however were now settled and no longer roaming. From the ninth and tenth centuries on, we see the state *idea* again gaining on feudalism. William the Conqueror and his successors established it ready made in England. On the continent, however, progress was slower and never quite achieved its culmination until the present century.

The chapter of the work devoted to "The Administration of Justice" is a splendid statement of the growth of legal principles and legal procedure, the genesis of criminal law, the jury, and equity, subjects obscured in the mists of the ages preceding the Year Books. So also are the chapters on "Land Settlement and Local Units," "Possession and Property" and "Caste and Contract."

The jury, according to the author, was not, as is popularly supposed, of popular character in origin, but something radically different. It came, in fact, from the Inquest, essentially a royal prerogative, exercisable by the courts neither of the clan nor the *fief*. William the Conqueror borrowed it from France and used it for the compilation of the Domesday, and Edward I. in collecting materials for the Hundred Rolls. And it remained a royal privilege to the last, but one which on the decay of trial by ordeal came to be sold to the private litigant. It failed to take root in Germany because of the weakness of the crown, in France because of the strength of the feudal officials and the Romanizing jurists, nor did it fix itself on Scotland. Only in England did it persist. Here the royal power was strong, and in time, through the decay of other forms of trial it became the method of deciding questions, not only cognizable by royal inquest, but between subject and subject as well. Eventually, as we know, it became the bulwark of liberty and the national boast. This is something very different from the popular and general accepted conception of the origin of jury trial.

The work has a good index and is rendered serviceable to the investigator by a list of authorities and a synoptic table of sources from the fifth century down to the seventeenth.

To the lawyer, the work renders accessible the origins of many legal institutions hidden either in the period previous to ordinary texts, or the equally sealed foreign treatises, while to the student of the period, it gives the legal and political framework of society and the structure upon which it grew, in a scholarly and at the same time most interesting way,

FREDERIC C. HOWE.

Cleveland.

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*A History of the English Poor Law in Connection with the State of the Country and the Condition of the People.* By SIR GEORGE NICHOLLS, K. C. B. New edition containing the revisions made by the author and a biography by H. G. Willink. Two volumes. Pp. lxxviii, 384; vii, 460. Price, \$10.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898.

This new edition of Nicholls' "History of the English Poor Law" will be thoroughly appreciated by a large circle of readers, including students of several of the social sciences. It is already well known as a standard work of great value, but has been for several years comparatively inaccessible. The present edition is moreover a fine piece of bookmaking and with the third volume, bringing the history down to date, to be written by Mr. T. Mackay, and to be ready by the end of this year or early in 1899, will constitute a work indispensable to those interested in the social history of the century.

Sir George Nicholls was peculiarly fitted for the preparation of the work under review. No other man had been associated with the administration of the English poor laws for so long a time or had occupied so many important posts connected with the execution of those laws at the time when the modern poor law was being reconstructed to meet the needs of the industrial changes of this century. Nicholls, while a resident of Southwell, where in 1821 he became overseer of the poor, had succeeded in bringing about reforms in those trying days of reckless expenditure for the poor throughout England. In 1821 the amount expended in Southwell was over \$3.00 per capita of the population, or about \$10 000 per annum. By 1823-24, through the introduction of the workhouse and the collection of poor rates from all classes of the population, Nicholls succeeded in reducing the total amount to \$2500, where it

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remained in the average for the nine following years. This experiment, together with a similar one at Birmingham, had considerable influence upon the commissioners of inquiry appointed in 1832, and the principles of reform there worked out constituted the backbone of the great amendment act of 1834. The execution of this important measure was entrusted by the government to Mr. George Nicholls, together with two other commissioners. Mr. Nicholls served in this capacity until 1837 when he became permanent secretary of a newly constituted poor law board which took the place of the old commissioners, a position which he occupied until his resignation in 1851 on account of ill health. In the meantime he had been chiefly instrumental in the framing and inaugurating of the Irish poor law. After his resignation Sir George at once began his histories of the English, Scotch and Irish poor laws. All three works were finished, the Irish history last and the English first, by the end of 1856. In the new edition cross references are made to the Scotch and Irish histories.

Much of the interest attaching to Nicholls' "History of the English Poor Law" is due to the spirit in which the work is conceived. Not only legislation strictly applying to the poor is considered, but much social legislation of a related character. Attention is also given to the life of the people and the state of public opinion as influencing and being influenced by such legislation. Economic history was not so commonly written in Nicholls' day nor had the recent tendency among historians to deal with the social life of the people made itself felt. Yet it is in this spirit that he attempts to trace the history of the English poor law and its administration from the time of the Norman conquest down to the year 1853. The work is divided into four parts covering the following periods: (1) From the Saxon period and the Norman invasion to the end of Elizabeth's reign, which may be regarded as the period in which the English poor law grew up. Indeed, the system has departed to this day but little in fundamental principles from the statement it received in the act, 43 Elizabeth, cap. 2, in the year 1601. (2) From the accession of James I. to the end of the reign of Anne, which may be styled the period in which the details of administration of the Elizabethan laws were worked out. (3) From the accession of George I. to the end of the reign of George III. (1820), which was the period of wild but instructive experiment in all sorts of deviations from and substitutes for the rigid principles of the Elizabethan system. (4) From the accession of George IV. to the end of the fiscal year 1852-53, during which time the Elizabethan laws were restated in the great amendment act of 1834. This was



done after the most minute parliamentary inquiries into the existing evils and proposed remedies. During this period also the problems of national administration of poor relief were dealt with, first by a system of commissioners appointed by the government and later by a larger number of appointees constituting a poor law board. These four parts are treated in about equal space though the treatment of the last is more technical and less reference is made in it to the social history of the time.

The work as a whole is valuable to American students because it is a complete account, within well-defined limits, of one of the largest and most important series of experiments in social legislation of which there is any record. It deals also with a people closely allied to us in their temperament and manner of life, and furthermore with a system of principles which both consciously and unconsciously have been adopted, partially at least, in almost every American state in dealing with its poor. Mr. Nicholls may not be the most impartial recorder of the later events in this story in which he played so important a part. There are other treatises which deal more fully and satisfactorily with particular problems in the English poor law, but there are few works of a general character to compare with Nicholls' and there is none that gives a more concrete and faithful record of events with constant reference to contemporaneous and official records. In the later portions of the work it is of course clear that Mr. Nicholls is a firm believer in the English poor law principles as restated in the amendment act of 1834, and that he believes that future legislation needs but to complete and provide for the administration of this system rather than depart radically from it. This position has been called in question by so many able authorities of late that it may be interesting in this connection to call attention to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Poor Law Relief, published in 1888, and to the two volume report of the Royal Commission on Aged Poor, published in 1895, and to various other public and private documents recently printed bearing on the poor law and the insurance schemes discussed in England. Probably at no time has the whole system had to face so much critical examination as within the past decade. The result, however, has been a very slight modification of the principles of the old poor law and those mostly in connection with its administration. Mr. Mackay, in the proposed third volume, completing the history from 1853 down to date, will have no easy task, but will enjoy the advantage of dealing with a period in which he can count on more intense interest from the general reader, though it is a period in no wise more instructive for the

student of social life and social experiment than that covered so well in the volumes under review.

SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY.

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*The Empire and the Papacy, 918-1273.* Periods of European History II. By T. F. TOUR. Pp. vii, 526. Price, \$1.75. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898.

This is a most satisfactory summary of the strictly mediæval period of European history. The title is a little unfortunate, for, while it indicates the main theme, it is too narrow for this volume which includes a short account of the crusades, of the Eastern Empire, of the growth of Christian Spain, and of the development of France. Affairs in England or the north of Europe are touched upon only incidentally. Although the political history forms the substance of the work, developments within the church and the general movements of thought are discussed briefly. In fact, for this period political history would be unintelligible without some statement of the ideas which controlled the minds of men, and especially of those which were dominant in the church.

The workmanship is excellent. Most of the chapters are necessarily compiled from secondary works, but it is evident almost everywhere that the author has some familiarity with the sources, and in some places that the work is based immediately upon a critical knowledge of the original material. Frequent cross-references make the narrative easy to follow. Each chapter is supplied with a brief bibliographical note which can be cordially recommended as a most useful guide for students. We regret that brevity has dictated the omission of some works but nothing useless is mentioned. The volume as a whole is admirably fitted either for conveying a general knowledge of the period, or as an introduction to more extensive study.

The introductory chapter, the explanation in Chapter III of the union of church and state, the account of the Cluniac Reformation, the description of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and the chapter on the twelfth century renaissance are especially to be commended. On matters of controversy the author is not always satisfactory. His summary of the investiture strife is done with skill, but not with entire success. Some of the other statements would be more accurate if made less strong. But this fault seems inevitable in attempting to put so much matter into so small a space.

Finally, the work is adequately supplied with apparatus; the maps are clear and really illustrate the text; the genealogical tables

are useful; it is convenient to have lists of the popes, emperors and other rulers. In short, the work is well planned and scholarly, brilliant in some parts, and everywhere serviceable.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO.

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*Workingmen's Insurance.* By WILLIAM F. WILLOUGHBY. Pp. vii, 386. Price, \$1.75. New York and Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1898.

Perhaps no movement for social betterment has made less progress in the United States than the insurance of workingmen against accidents, sickness and old age. It is true that we have our great fraternal organizations, but they fail to reach the larger mass of workingmen. It is true that many labor unions have sick and accident benefits, but their number is comparatively small, and the work they do is scarcely based on sound scientific principles. It is true, also, that several of the larger railroad systems have organized insurance societies for their employes, but the number of these is limited, and they, too, are built on faulty actuarial principles, when they do not possess positively unjust features. So far as insurance against old age and invalidity is concerned, it can scarcely be said that a beginning has been made. Of course, the reason for this backwardness with regard to workingmen's insurance is found in the intensely dynamic conditions of industry in America, which have thus far prevented providence and saving from becoming essential virtues. As Mr. Willoughby well illustrates it, there is no class of laborers in America, as there is in England, who look forward to spending their old age in the poor-house.

Not only, however, are we lacking in practical experimentation, but also in knowledge of the history of workingmen's insurance in other countries. Those who have not made a special study of the subject in German and French works may obtain some knowledge of the German compulsory system from discussions in current periodicals, and a single government report; and a slight acquaintance with the work done by the great English friendly societies from a few English works, but this is practically all. It is for this reason that Mr. Willoughby, in presenting this first real contribution to American economic literature upon the subject, has been obliged to write a work largely descriptive. He does not undertake to make an exhaustive analysis of the many economic problems connected with the different European schemes, though he has treated some and touched upon others; so those who desire light upon the ultimate effects of compulsory insurance upon wages, profits and cost will find

this book of little assistance. To those who desire to gain some adequate information regarding the history of the movement in the different continental countries, the principles underlying the different systems, the problems of administration involved, and the present status of the question, however, Mr. Willoughby's work can be commended.

Our review must be largely descriptive. In the first chapter the three oldest branches of workingmen's insurance, those against accident, sickness and old age, are considered; the question of insurance against unemployment being discussed in an appendix. In general Mr. Willoughby finds that the movement for insurance is an "effort to substitute for the old relief funds institutions founded upon scientific principles whereby each workingman himself provides for the relief he may probably need." When, however, we come to a consideration of how the burden of insurance should be borne, we see that whereas in the case of old age and sickness it is considered just that the workingman should pay the greater share at least of the dues, for here it is only a question of his own personal betterment; in the case of accident all scientific systems assume that the greater share, if not the whole of the dues, should be paid by the employer. Mr. Willoughby fully endorses the ground, which is generally held in Europe now, that insurance against accident should be considered as a "trade risk" pure and simple, that is as an element of cost. The history of the embodiment of this idea of trade risk in the laws regarding employers' liability is described in general in this opening chapter, and more in detail, with regard to the separate countries in the following chapters. As a purely economic proposition there is, of course, no reason why employer or state should assist in the payment of dues or the establishment of state institutions, or the granting of subsidies to private societies, with reference to old age or sickness insurance. It is only the social betterment which may result that justifies such aid. Nothing should be so distinctly emphasized as that insurance against accident with little or no cost to the person insured is the simple right of a workingman, while insurance against sickness or old age is not a right and should be due largely to the workman's own efforts.

We are obliged to pass over Mr. Willoughby's exposition of some simple actuarial principles which are present in all sound systems, as well as his discussion of some administrative details.

Basing his description largely on official reports, Mr. Willoughby next proceeds to consider the different European countries in detail. He commences with a careful examination of compulsory insurance in Germany and in Austria. It will not be necessary to give the

details of this system which is comparatively well known. It is interesting to note, however, that Mr. Willoughby believes that compulsory insurance with its centralizing tendency, has not yet satisfactorily coped with malingering and simulation in regard to sickness insurance. On the other hand, he does not believe that compulsory accident insurance has increased the carelessness of employes. This is well shown from the official reports, which, while indicating a large increase in the number of smaller accidents, shows an absolute decrease in the number of accidents resulting in deaths or total permanent disability, which of necessity are more accurately defined than any others. Of course, it is to be expected that as the system becomes better known, slight accidents which would in the beginning be suffered in silence, would ultimately be considered as sufficiently serious to warrant a claim for indemnity. An accident to be indemnified at all, it will be remembered, must cause partial or permanent disability for at least thirteen weeks. Otherwise indemnification must come through the sickness insurance.

In France we find a large number of mutual aid societies which are not working on sound insurance principles. We find also a national bank for insurance against old age, where an individual can insure himself or where an employer can insure all his employes. The bank has been chiefly important as a collective insurer though even here its transactions have been very much limited. Mr. Willoughby deems its reorganization one of the essential conditions to the proper development of old age insurance in France. But the most important development of all in France is the growth of insurance societies organized by employers or associations of employers. Beginning with railroad and mining companies, they now include national associations of manufacturers, thus bringing in the employes of even small establishments. One of the most hopeful signs in France is the growth of these insurance societies, some of which insure only against accident; others against accident, sickness and old age. In Belgium the conditions are much akin to those in France. To be noticed particularly, however, is the pronounced efficiency of the societies organized by the Belgian mining companies. In Italy we have an example in the national bank for the insurance of workingmen against accidents of the important results that can be achieved by an insurance institution organized under the auspices of, and yet not managed by, the state. In Italy also we notice a pronounced trend of public opinion toward compulsory insurance, at least against accident, though in the beginning nothing would have been more bitterly fought than such a proposition. In England the growth of the great friendly societies, and the gradual acceptance of sound scientific

principles in their insurance systems occupies most of our attention. As for insurance against old age, which is apparently becoming a "living question" in England, Mr. Willoughby makes the following keen observation: "The question in England, therefore, is not whether the state should aid the aged poor, for that it already does through the poor-law service, but whether it could not better aid them by some systematic plan of insurance. It is important to note that in England the problem of old age insurance is posed as a poor-law reform, and not as on the continent, as a pure workingman question."

In conclusion, Mr. Willoughby sums up the history of workingmen's insurance as represented in three great movements: first, the transformation which is going on in every country of mutual aid and charitable relief societies into scientific insurance organizations; second, the profound change in public sentiment, as indicated in amended laws regarding employers' liability and the treatment of accidents as a trade risk; third, the movement toward compulsory insurance. We think that here Mr. Willoughby makes too broad a statement. So far as we can observe from the facts he has given us, there is a strong tendency toward compulsory insurance against accidents, but a similarly strong tendency cannot be observed regarding the other two forms. In the same paragraph he writes: "State encouraged, state aided or state compelled insurance, must therefore, be accepted as the definitely adopted policy of European nations." No objection can be made to the statement thus modified. We think, also, that the summary is not complete without an added word regarding the quite unsatisfactory progress of old age insurance, and the generally chaotic condition it is in at the present time, except, perhaps, in Germany and Austria.

With regard to the policy to be adopted in America the author suggests the following reforms: first, the education of the people regarding the real nature of workingmen's insurance; second, the development and betterment along scientific lines of the sick insurance work now done by labor organizations, and a similar development of whatever old age and invalidity insurance is attempted by them; third, a reform of employers' liability laws and development, improvement and extension into other industrial fields of societies similar to those already organized by some railroads. Mr. Willoughby sees no present prospect of the growth of old age insurance in the United States.

In an appendix the author has reviewed the few experiments in insurance against unemployment made in Switzerland. His judgment is that they are really not experiments in insurance, because

"Insurance pre-supposes the risk insured against shall possess two characteristics: it must be well defined and be the consequence of a chance that can be estimated with some degree of certainty. The risk of unemployment fills neither of these conditions. It is not well defined since it is difficult to say what work the unemployed should be required to accept. It does not depend upon chance, because the personal element involved in seeking and retaining work, to say nothing of the uncertainty of the employer's action, enter so largely." As experiments in dealing with unemployment, however, they are worthy of study; they certainly indicate great progress over indiscriminate relief. This progress is indicated in the fact that those applying for help must already have made some definite contribution for a stated period to the fund, that only *bona fide* residents can receive aid, and that the employed are brought under the authority of the city authorities, and their re-employment is made more probable through the agency of public employment bureaus.

We have left space only for a few words of criticism. Painstaking and careful as Mr. Willoughby has been in his study of systems, we must confess to a sense of disappointment with reference to his exposition of insurance against old age. It is true, as has been remarked before, less progress toward a sound footing has been made in Europe in this form of insurance than in any other. Yet we think that a concise statement of the problems involved, and of the principles that have been assumed in this or that experiment, would have been of some help. We question if a consideration of old age insurance by itself, apart from a discussion of the individual state systems, might not have clarified the exposition somewhat. The book is particularly strong in its presentation of administrative difficulties, false actuarial principles, and statistical analyses. It, therefore, possesses the somewhat unique distinction of being of value both to students of social conditions, and to those practically concerned with the management of insurance companies dealing with the working classes.

FRANCIS H. McLEAN.

New York City.

## NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

### **Classification of Municipal Receipts and Expenditures.—**

For some time past the attention of those interested in municipal reform has been directed towards the methods of accounting and the form of the financial reports of our larger cities. After long and costly experience, we have come to see that a correct judgment of many of our city problems must be based upon a clear understanding of the financial condition of the municipality. Unfortunately, the reports of cities have never been designed to present a clear view of the financial operations of the year; nor has the system of municipal accounting been such as to promote simplicity in presentation. In some cases, the obscurity has been due to a lack of system in the finance departments. The main cause, however, has been the failure to adjust the methods of accounting to the increasing complexity of the city administration and the widening sphere of city functions. Each new problem entailed some addition to the system of accounting, which usually took the form of a special account; no effort being made to incorporate it organically into the existing system. This process, extended over a long period of years, has resulted in a method of bookkeeping which is unintelligible to the layman and extremely puzzling to the expert.

The inconveniences resulting from this system are twofold. In the first place, the citizen is completely debarred from anything like an intelligent acquaintance with the financial condition of his own city. In fact, it is often impossible to ascertain whether a department of the city government—such as one of the public works—is being operated at a profit or loss. No attempt is made to charge such public works with the interest and liquidation of the loans contracted for their benefit. Extraordinary expenditures are hopelessly confused with ordinary expenditures. In fact, it is safe to say that the directors of a business corporation would not for a moment tolerate such a system.

It is asking too much to expect the average citizen to make a careful analysis of complex accounts. What we need at the present time is greater simplicity in financial methods, just as we need greater simplicity in administrative organization. The inhabitants of our cities have a right to demand that they should be given a clear, succinct statement of the financial operations of the year. To do this would require a radical change in present methods. Thus in the report of the comptroller of Greater New York the system of special



accounts characteristic of the finances of New York is being perpetuated. While these torical justification, there is no good reason be incorporated into the general revenue account of the city. At present no one who has no of study can undertake to form an accurate condition of the city. New York represents the rule. Another serious inconvenience chaotic methods of accounting is the infertile comparisons of the finances of valuable lessons of experience are thus lost.

The advantages resulting from a certain accounting and reports is shown in the French, and, within recent years, of England record of experience in the history of municipalities of incalculable value. The financial success of one knotty problem is a constant incentive to all parts of the country. Glasgow's financial work of rebuilding the slum districts was determining similar activity in other Scotch

The change in method will come slowly, a better system become more clearly demonstrated signs of an awakening to the value of system of financial reports. It is here that the change is likely to be made. The finance departments of our cities would probably consent, at the present time, to append to the regular reports, a summary of receipts and expenditures, classified according to the plan. The classification suggested below is of the nature of a suggestion towards such a scheme. Scotland, in its recent reports, has published a summary in many respects to the one here outlined. The reports of other cities the report of the model of clearness and simplicity.

The recently organized department of municipalities of Boston is devoting considerable attention to this subject.

## ORDINARY RECEIPTS.

### I. *Taxation.*

#### a. *General Property Taxes.*

1. Real property taxes.
2. Personal property taxes.

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\* The editor of the department wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Professor F. R. Clow for suggestions as to the general method.

*b. Poll Taxes.**c. Licenses.*

## 1. Liquor licenses.

2. Other licenses, including mercantile, peddlers' and hawkers' licenses. Not to include street railway licenses, which are to be placed under the separate heading of franchises.

*d. Franchise and Franchise Taxes.*

Include under this head all payments for franchise privileges by gas, water, electric light, telephone, street railway or other companies enjoying municipal franchises. Payments under general property taxes not to be included.

*e. Fees.*

1. Legal and judicial fees, including fees for recording deeds and registering wills.

2. Other fees, such as vault permits, sidewalk permits, etc.

*f. Special Assessments.*

1. Opening streets.

2. Paving streets.

3. Sidewalks.

4. Sewers.

5. Miscellaneous assessments.

*II. Public Safety.\***a. Police.**b. Fire Department.**c. Fire and Police Telegraph.**d. Jails, Prisons and Reformatories.**e. Health Department.**f. Food inspection.**g. Building inspection.**h. Regulating dangerous pursuits.**i. Sanitary measures.**j. Public Pound.**k. Militia.**l. Miscellaneous.**III. Public Charity.†**a. Hospitals.**b. Insane asylums.**c. Homes.**d. Workhouses, almshouse.**e. Lodging houses.**f. Outdoor relief.**g. The unemployed.**h. Miscellaneous.**IV. Public Convenience.**a. Chief engineer.**b. Opening and grading streets. Abolishing grade crossings.**c. Street and sidewalk paving.*

\* The income from local courts has been included under "Fees."

† Although very little income is usually derived from some of these sources, they are inserted to harmonize with corresponding items under "Expenditure."

- d.* Street cleaning.
- e.* Street lighting.
- f.* Removal of garbage.
- g.* Bridges.
- h.* River and harbor improvements.
- i.* Sewers.
- j.* Parks and playgrounds.
- k.* Baths, laundries and public comfort stations.
- l.* Ferries.

**V. Public Industries.**

- a.* Gas works.
- b.* Water works.
- c.* Electric light works.
- d.* Markets.
- e.* Docks and wharves.
- f.* Ferries.
- g.* Street railways.
- h.* Conduits.

**VI. Public Education and Allied Objects.**

- a.* Schools.
- b.* Free library.
- c.* Reading-rooms.
- d.* Celebrations.
- e.* Monuments.
- f.* Documents.

**VII. Public Trust Funds.**

Funds and foundations of which the city has the administration.

**EXTRAORDINARY INCOME.****VIII. Public Debt.**

- (1) Funded debt.
- (2) Floating debt.\*

**EXPENDITURE.†****I. General Government.**

- a. Executive.*
  - 1. City Hall—General maintenance and repairs.
  - 2. Mayor's Office.
  - 3. Heads of Departments
  - 4. Special experts.
- b. Legislative.*
  - 1. City Council.
  - 2. City Clerk.
- c. Legal.*
  - 1. Law Department (city courts not included).
- d. Finance Departments.*

\*Exclude from this mere book accounts, such as the income from revenue bonds issued in anticipation of taxes.

†Under each heading it will be desirable to classify as follows :

- I. Current expenses and maintenance.
  - 1. Salaries.
  - 2. Supplies.
  - 3. Other expenses.
- II. Construction.
- III. Extraordinary expenditures other than construction.

1. Assessors.
2. Tax Collectors.
3. Treasurer.
4. Comptroller or Auditor.
5. Board of Estimate and Apportionment.
6. Board of Equalization.
7. Sinking Fund Commission.

*a. Elections.*

**II. Public Safety.**

- a. Police.*
- b. Fire Department.*
- c. Fire and Police Telegraph.*
- d. Local Courts.*
- e. Jails, Prisons and Reformatories.*
- f. Health Department.*
- g. Food inspection.*
- h. Building inspection.*
- i. Regulating dangerous pursuits.*
- j. Sanitary measures.*
- k. Public Pound.*
- l. Militia.*
- m. Miscellaneous.*

**III. Public Charity.**

- a. Hospitals.*
- b. Insane Asylums.*
- c. Homes.*
- d. Workhouses, Almshouses.*
- e. Lodging Houses.*
- f. Outdoor Relief.*
- g. Unemployed.*
- h. Miscellaneous.*

**IV. Public Convenience.**

- a. Chief Engineer. Office and service.*
- b. Opening and grading streets. Abolishing grade crossings.*
- c. Street and sidewalk paving.*
- d. Street cleaning.*
- e. Street lighting.*
- f. Removal of garbage.*
- g. Bridges.*
- h. River and harbor improvements.*
- i. Sewers.*
- j. Parks.*
- k. Baths, laundries and public comfort stations.*

**V. Public Industries.**

- a. Gas works.*
- b. Water works.*
- c. Electric light works.*
- d. Markets.*
- e. Docks and wharves.*
- f. Ferries.*
- g. Street railways.*
- h. Conduits.*

**VI. Public Education and Allied Objects.**

- a. Schools.
- b. Free library.
- c. Reading-rooms.
- d. Celebrations.
- e. Monuments.
- f. Documents.

**VII. Public Trust Funds**

- a. Funds and foundations of which the city has the administration.

**VIII. Public Indebtedness.**

- a. Interest on funded and floating debt.
- b. Liquidation of funded and floating debt\* (including payments for this purpose from general treasury and sinking fund).

**SUMMARIZED STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES.**

	RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURES.	
	Ordinary.	Extraordinary.	Ordinary.	Extraordinary.
<b>I. General Government.</b>				
1. Executive . . . . .				
2. Legislative . . . . .				
3. Law Department . . . . .				
4. Finance Departments . . . . .				
5. Elections . . . . .				
<b>II. Taxation.</b>				
Real Property Taxes . . . . .				
Personal Property Taxes . . . . .				
Poll Taxes . . . . .				
Licenses . . . . .				
Franchise and Franchise Taxes . . . . .				
Fees . . . . .				
Special Assessments . . . . .				
<b>III. Public Safety.</b>				
Police . . . . .				
Fire Department . . . . .				
Fire and Police Telegraph . . . . .				
Jails, Prisons and Reformatories . . . . .				
Health Department . . . . .				
Food inspection . . . . .				
Building inspection . . . . .				
Regulating dangerous pursuits . . . . .				
Sanitary measures . . . . .				
Public Pound . . . . .				
Militia . . . . .				
Miscellaneous . . . . .				
<b>IV. Public Charity.</b>				
Hospitals . . . . .				
Insane Asylums . . . . .				
Homes . . . . .				
Workhouses . . . . .				
Lodging Houses . . . . .				
Outdoor Relief . . . . .				
Unemployed . . . . .				
Miscellaneous . . . . .				

\* Assets of sinking fund are to be treated as "cash," and will figure in the balance sheet.

	RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURES.	
	Ordinary.	Extraordinary.	Ordinary.	Extraordinary.
<b>V. Public Convenience.</b>				
Chief Engineer. Office and service . . . . .				
Opening and grading streets . . . . .				
Abolishing grade crossings . . . . .				
Street and sidewalk paving . . . . .				
Street cleaning . . . . .				
Street lighting . . . . .				
Removal of garbage . . . . .				
Bridges . . . . .				
River and harbor improvements . . . . .				
Sewers . . . . .				
Parks . . . . .				
Baths, laundries and public comfort stations . . . . .				
<b>VI. Public Industries.</b>				
Gas works . . . . .				
Water works . . . . .				
Electric light works . . . . .				
Markets . . . . .				
Docks and wharves . . . . .				
Ferries . . . . .				
Street railways . . . . .				
Conduits . . . . .				
<b>VII. Public Education and Allied Objects.</b>				
Schools . . . . .				
Free library . . . . .				
Reading-rooms . . . . .				
Celebrations . . . . .				
Monuments . . . . .				
Documents . . . . .				
<b>VIII. Public Trust Funds.</b>				
Funds and foundations . . . . .				
<b>IX. Public Indebtedness.</b>				
Interest . . . . .				
Liquidation of loans (from Sinking Fund and General Treasury) . . . . .				
Totals . . . . .				

RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURES.
Brought down . . . . .	Brought down . . . . .
Total receipts . . . . .	Total expenditure . . . . .
Cash in treasury at beginning of fiscal year . . . . .	Cash in treasury at end of fiscal year . . . . .
Cash* in hands of Sinking Fund Commissioners at beginning of fiscal year . . . . .	Cash* in hands of Sinking Fund Commissioners at end of fiscal year . . . . .

## BOOK ACCOUNTS.

## RECEIPTS.

- I. Taxes collected for the state and to be turned over to the state treasury.
- II. Receipts from Revenue Bonds in anticipation of current taxes.
- III. Receipts of Sinking Fund.

\*To be interpreted as cash or such securities as have a ready cash value.

## EXPENDITURES.

- I. Payment of taxes collected for the state.
- II. Payments to Sinking Fund from general treasury.
- III. Payment of Revenue Bonds from current taxation.

## GENERAL STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

*Assets.*

1. Available.
  - Cash in treasury.
  - Salable lands and buildings.
  - Taxes, assessments, etc., in arrears
  - Other debts due.
  - Other available assets (specify).
2. Not available.
  - Water works
  - Gas works.
  - School houses.
  - Public buildings.
  - Parks.
  - Sinking fund.
  - Bad taxes, *i. e.*, those in arrears for a period making future collection improbable.
  - Other assets not available (specify).

*Liabilities.*

- Debt.
  - a. Bonded.
  - b. Floating.
- Outstanding claims.
- Other liabilities (specify).

**Boston.\*—Art Department.** The law that established the Art Commission for the city of Boston several years ago has been changed. The new enactment establishes an art department in charge of five art commissioners, citizens of Boston, and appointed by the mayor without confirmation. The trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts, of the Public Library and of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Boston Art Club and the Boston Society of Architects, each submit a list of three persons, and one of each of these three is selected by the mayor. The board may appoint a secretary outside of its own membership, to serve without pay. No work of art may become the property of the city by purchase, gift or otherwise, or be erected in any public place, without approval by the board. No existing work in possession of the city shall be changed or removed without the approval of the commission, and any such work may be removed, relocated or altered by vote passed and approved in writing by all members of the commission and by the mayor. When requested by the mayor or city council the commission may in its discretion act in a similar capacity, with similar powers, in respect to the design of any

\* Communication of Sylvester Baxter, Esq.

municipal building, bridge, approach, lamp, ornamental gate or fence, or other structure erected or to be erected upon land belonging to the city, or in respect to any like structure which is the property of any corporation or individual and extends in, over or upon any street, avenue, highway, park or public place. The term "work of art," as used in the law, applies to all paintings, mural decorations, statues, bas-reliefs, sculptures, monuments, fountains, arches, ornamental gateways and other structures of a permanent character intended for ornament or commemoration. The provision relating to municipal architecture and decorative work is important as containing a double safeguard against bad art. For, should the mayor be indifferent in this regard, there is recourse to the city council, which may call upon the commission to exercise its offices in favor of proper designs.

*Playgrounds, Baths and Gymnasia.*—Mayor Quincy, at the recent meeting of the American Social Science Association at Saratoga, read a paper on "Playgrounds, Baths and Gymnasia," largely devoted to the recent work of the Public Parks and the Baths Departments in Boston. He said that the city had maintained during the summer five beach baths, thirteen floating baths and two swimming-pools, furnishing between two and three million baths in the summer season, at an expense for maintenance, including free bathing suits for children, of about \$35,000; this summer work was to be followed by the opening of a number of winter baths and swimming-pools, and at least two or three large public gymnasia. He regarded the all-the-year-round swimming-pool as one of the most important municipal agencies for improving the condition of the people. He strongly urged that each local group of 20,000 to 25,000 people, divided upon lines carefully drawn as to social conditions and affiliations, have its own local bathing establishment, gymnasium and playground. The mayor regarded the swimming-pool as having important advantages over any other form of bath, particularly for the young, in that it afforded recreation and enabled swimming to be taught. At the summer baths the past season between three and four thousand school children were taught the art. An excellent concrete swimming-pool, eighty by thirty feet, and four to six feet deep, could be built, exclusive of enclosing building, for about \$2500. Outside of land-cost a two-story building with swimming-pool, shower-baths and gymnasium, adequate for an average city ward, could be built, if necessary, at as low a cost as \$25,000 and maintained for a few thousand dollars a year. The mayor said: "The great problem of social science is that of securing some general distribution among all the people of the advantages and facilities which the progress of human knowledge and the advance of civilization have developed in such rich measure."



*The Subway.*—The remaining sections of the subway have been completed, and the entire system went into operation on Saturday, September 3, 1898. It has been built as a municipal enterprise with great promptness, efficiency and economy under the public commission appointed for the purpose. The estimated cost was \$5,000,000, and the actual cost less than \$4,800,000. Work was begun on March 28, 1895, and the first sections were opened for use in September, 1897. Its total length is a mile and two-thirds, and it contains about five miles of trackage, reckoned as single track. It is leased by the city to the West End Street Railway Company, which in turn has been leased to the Boston Elevated Railroad Company. The operating company pays an annual rental of 4½ per cent of the cost as a minimum, thus meeting all interest and sinking fund charges. The number of car-trips a year are charged at the rate of five cents a trip, and when the sum so computed exceeds 4½ per cent of the cost, the rental shall be based on the toll-system. The work must be maintained by the leasing company, and, when the lease expires, handed over to the city in perfect condition. When the elevated system goes into operation it will use a portion of the trackage for carrying its rapid-transit service across the congested district. The congestion of street-traffic has been entirely relieved. The surface-tracks have been ordered removed from Tremont and Boylston streets where the subway runs.

*Cincinnati.\*—Primary Elections.* The first primary elections under the new law† were held by the leading political parties on September 16, between the hours of six o'clock a. m. and two o'clock p. m. The executive committees of both parties had decided to hold conventions instead of nominating candidates directly at the primaries. There was no contest in the Democratic party, but among the Republicans the old party feud between the former machine and the new machine broke out anew. In each precinct the names of candidates for delegates were placed upon an Australian ballot. Only 25,000 votes were cast by the Republicans, of which the old machine received over 21,000. The convention lasted but fifty-seven minutes.

The result of the primaries is an interesting and instructive contribution to county and municipal politics. It proves again and that conclusively that the political machines cannot be displaced by primary elections held under state control. This is due solely to the indifference of the voters.

\* Communication of Max B. May, Esq.

† See Notes in September ANNALS, Vol. XI, p. 309.

**Cleveland.\*—County Government.** The city of Cleveland is much exercised at the present time over discoveries and disclosures regarding the transactions of the county commissioners which have just been made public by the Municipal Association. While a preponderating portion of the population and wealth of Cuyahoga County lies within the limits of the city of Cleveland, no attempt has ever been made to abolish the county organization, as has been done in Boston, Baltimore, New York, St. Louis and some other cities. The dual system of county government superimposed on that of the city, still remains and leads to the extravagances and corruption in the county government. In Ohio, these officers are subject to little or no check in the exercise of their powers, even the requirements of advertising and competitive bidding being provided for only in a small portion of their contract work.

About a year ago, the Municipal Association began an investigation of their method of doing business which resulted in most startling discoveries. Needless work was being done, extortionate prices charged and the incidentals of the county ran up into tens of thousands. Owing to the work of the association, the leakage through the old channels has been in a measure stopped but during the last year it has broken out in a new spot. The commissioners have undertaken the construction of the county roads, and the last bulletin of the Municipal Association deals with an extension of eight and two-third miles of turnpike. The revelations of this bulletin show that in 1897 a contract was entered into by the commissioners with a private bidder for excavating and grading the road, the estimated cost of which was to be \$14,900. This was obtained by classifying the work so that there was a large amount of low cost excavation apparently to be done and a small amount of high cost work. The engineer thereafter certified an immense amount of high cost work for which an extortionate price was charged so that the county has been called upon up to the present time to expend \$55,000 for work which was expected to cost but \$15,000, while incidentals have been incurred amounting to eight or nine thousand dollars more.

It is not improbable that proceedings will be instituted to prevent payments to be made under this contract, and some system be devised to exercise a check on the methods of the commissioners. Moreover, the matter may be brought to the attention of the grand jury and indictments found, as the county prosecutor has taken the matter up.

**Street Railways.**—The street railway question continues to be an absorbing one in municipal matters. A company of local capitalists have announced that they will make application for a charter to

\* Communication of F. C. Howe, Esq.

occupy unused streets in the city. Their proposal offers a reduction of fare with a considerable gross receipts tax to the city. At the same time an ordinance has been introduced in the council with the object of reducing fares on existing lines to four cents, it being contended by the advocates of the measure that a reserve right exists in the city to reduce fares whenever, in its opinion, it sees fit. It is not known whether the railroads are opposed to the latter measure or not, but in all probability in case of passage, it will be contested in the courts on the ground that the city possesses no such power, and that the reduction is unreasonable. The Chamber of Commerce, one of the most progressive bodies of the kind in the United States, has appointed a committee of most able and influential citizens to investigate the street railway question, which committee is about ready to report. They have examined into existing local conditions and the charters of many American railways. It is believed that this report, when issued, will be of great service in the solution of the local problem.

*Special Legislation.*—Cleveland is beginning to suffer from the effects of special legislation which has been of the most vicious character for many years in the State of Ohio. Despite the constitutional inhibition of special legislation, the courts have permitted up to very recent times, classification along the most absurd lines, and have upheld bonds issued without resort to plebiscite. During the last session of the legislature, bonds were authorized for the city of Cleveland and Cuyahoga County, amounting to nearly \$8,000,000, for the erection of a city hall, county court house, widening the river and many other improvements. These were obtained through the influence of politicians and despite the protest of the community. It remains to be seen whether the bonds are legal, which will have to be determined by the courts. Plans are now on foot for the erection of a city hall at a cost of \$1,500,000, and a court house for the county. The former is to be constructed by a commission appointed by the mayor, and the latter by the county commissioners, with three assistant commissioners appointed by the common pleas judges. The success of this method of doing public work depends of course on the character of the commissioners chosen; and it is to be regretted that the selection for the City Hall Commission, the only one appointed, fails to give the assurance of honesty, intelligence and ability which the city desired in a matter of so much importance.

*Buffalo.\*—Municipal Ownership of Gas Works.*—The first step toward municipal ownership of natural monopolies in Buffalo has been taken. The common council has directed the board of public

\*Communication of A. C. Richardson.

works to expend \$1000 in hiring an expert to prepare plans and specifications, with estimates of cost, for a gas plant to be owned and operated by the city.

**Omaha.**—*State vs. Local Police Board.* The Supreme Court of Nebraska, in a recent decision, has declared the statute placing the fire and police departments of the city under the control of a board of commissioners appointed by the governor, to be unconstitutional; thus upholding the commissioners appointed by the mayor and council, under the general powers vested in the municipal corporation.

The decision is one of the most important in the history of the court. If adopted and followed in other states it will mark a turning point in the development of American municipal government. According to the Nebraska Supreme Court, one of the three judges dissenting, the right to municipal home rule is one of the basic principles of a republican form of government, and, although there is no express prohibition upon the legislature from usurping the functions of the city governments and vesting them in state officials, the whole spirit of the state constitution rests upon this foundation and guarantees the right of the citizens of the municipality to the exclusive voice in their own local government. While the legislature may regulate the exercise of municipal powers, it cannot confer them upon officers who neither derive their titles from, nor owe responsibility to the citizens of the municipality.

The history of the legislation leading up to this decision throws much light upon the situation. In 1887 a law was enacted placing the administration of the police and fire departments of Omaha in a board of four commissioners, appointed by the governor with the mayor as *ex-officio* chairman. The object was to divorce the police and fire forces from politics, and for this reason the governor's appointees were by law required to be bi-partisan; and, later, tri-partisan. The constitutionality of this law was contested but it was upheld by the supreme court in a decision which the court now expressly reverses.

In 1895, upon the election of a Populist governor, a Republican legislature took this appointing power from the governor and placed it with an appointing board, composed of the Populist governor and two Republican state officials. The succeeding legislature, being of Populist complexion, abolished the appointing board in 1897 and restored to the Populist governor the power to appoint the fire and police commissioners for the city of Omaha. Thus, instead of divorcing the police and fire departments from politics, the new system made them an issue in state politics and resulted in worse contention and demoralization than before.

A year ago the police commissioners, ousted by the law of 1897, sought to deny the authority of their successors, in court proceedings, and presented the home-rule doctrine in their petition; but the supreme court refused to entertain the case because they could point to no title except that based on a law to which the same objections could be entered. Finally, to bring the matter squarely to a test, a new police board was created by city ordinance and the issues joined with the result as stated. While the outlawed commissioners still remain in office, relying on their right to remain until the formal writ of ouster is issued, the decision is accepted as ending, for all time, the system of state-appointed police commissioners, as well as any further attempts to deprive the municipality of its right to choose all officers charged with municipal duties and paid out of the municipal treasury.

## SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

**Report of French Commission on Vagabondage.\***—The French government has been investigating vagabondage. Under the Meline ministry, says Mr. C. A. Healy, in the *London Review*, a commission was appointed, of which Senator de Mercère was made chairman and whose report has been recently made public. Its results are herewith summarized:

Paris is still the hotbed of vagabondage, and foreigners are to some extent responsible for it by reason of their yielding to the vagabonds' importunities. The business is apparently profitable. Some six years ago, when the sale of an issue of government bonds occurred, a long line of beggars stood in waiting before the Credit Lyonnais to invest the proceeds of their mendicancy.

The commission classifies this portion of the population as (1) unfortunates given to begging to tide themselves over hard times, that is, *occasional* beggars; (2) *habitual* beggars, who ply their art as a trade in pursuit of which they wander from place to place. Of course, Paris is the pick of the land for this class. Hither the great army of French vagabonds congregate. These vagabonds, thus distinguished, are divided into three classes or kinds: (a) men without regular work, resources or domicile; (b) tramps (*chemineaux*—roadsters), and (c) street singers. The importunate vender of small articles at street-corners does not seem to come within the scope of the commission's classification. The dangerous class is comprised of those who use deceit in their operations. "The most deceitful manner in which they guise themselves very often conceals escaped criminals, condemned persons who have escaped or defeated arrest, men who have been expelled, persons who have been forbidden to live in certain districts—in a word, those who live on the margin of regular society."

The growth of vagabondage in France is to no small extent due to the want of any effective law to punish this class of offenders. The old system of workhouse passports has long since been abolished. The general hospitals of Louis XIV's time (houses of correction), as well as the *Depôts de Mendicité* by which Napoleon declared that he was about to extinguish begging by congregating beggars in correctional establishments, have both failed to stand the test of the popular sense of individual liberty. The law on

\*Contributed by John Franklin Crowell, Ph.D., London, England.

the subject provides (Art. 274, Penal Code), that "All persons who shall be found begging in any district for which there is a public establishment (refuge) organized to obviate begging, shall be punished with from three to six months imprisonment, and after the expiration of the penalty shall be placed in the *Depôt de Mendicité*." This means a life-sentence for begging or vagabondage; but in actual administration the law is not enforced, because the punishment is so far out of proportion to the offence as to outrage the sense of justice which pervades the civil and the legal mind. The result is that so many vagabonds have been released by the magistrates after arrest by the police, that the police have practically ceased to apprehend them.

The *Commission sur la Mendicité* calls for the following remedies:

- (1) More vigorous powers for the tribunals now too feebly endowed to repress vagabondage.
- (2) Banishment to the colonies in certain cases.
- (3) Special penitentiary colonies to be organized for vagabonds.
- (4) State intervention to create institutions where men of good will without work may work in exchange for food and shelter.

By way of definition of offence and offender, it is proposed not to punish vagrancy, as such as an offence against the law, but to punish with extraordinary severity any transgression of law or invasion of liberty which members of the vagabond class may commit. In a word, the purpose is to permit vagabondage as a marginal form of civil liberty. The idle vagabond by choice is to be given a status which the police are bound to respect, but on the basis of which "any individual who, under pretext of indigence, shall molest any one, or enter without permission into any habitation to demand food by violence, or exercise violence on the highway, shall be punished with imprisonment from fifteen days to five years, according to the case."

**The Liquor Problem.**—Two items of interest in connection with the study of the legislation pertaining to the control of the liquor traffic are to be noted. In the first place the experience of the State of New York in carrying out its new excise law is being watched with great interest. The report of the State Commissioner of Excise for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1897, was transmitted in its complete form to the legislature January 17, 1898. Some account of what this report contains, taken from the advance sheets issued by the State Commissioner, was published in the *ANNALS*, Vol. XI, p. 293, March, 1898. The complete report has just been issued and comprises an octavo volume of 837 pages. In addition to the items covered by this report, to which attention has already been called, it may be noted here that it contains a statement and map of the state showing

the result of the vote in every town on the local option questions submitted. It gives also a digest and table of cases decided and reported under the Liquor Tax Law, and also a synopsis of the liquor laws in every state and territory in the Union, with a concise statement of the results obtained under these several types of legislation.

Relating also to the conditions in New York State, it is to be noted that a second edition of the Report of the Committee of Fifty, treating of "The Liquor Problem in Its Legislative Aspects," a volume prepared by Messrs. Frederick H. Wines and John Koren under the direction of a sub-committee of the Committee of Fifty, composed of President Eliot, of Harvard, President Low, of Columbia University, and James C. Carter, Esq., of New York City, has been issued and contains a new chapter with the title, "The Operation of the New York Liquor Tax Law." Other items bringing the data down to date concerning the legislation and its enforcement in South Carolina, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania have been added. The value of a report of this character, compiled under careful supervision and under circumstances which admitted of no sparing of pains or expense to get at the facts in the case, cannot but be appreciated by every thoughtful reader no matter what his personal opinions and preferences may be.

Turning from this record of experience in New York we have to note also the appearance of the Twelfth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, a small volume devoted entirely to the topic, "Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem." Here the results of a broad national investigation, conducted by the Department of Labor, are given. Chapters in the report are devoted to the production of liquors, to the consumption of liquors, to the traffic in liquors, to the revenue from such production and traffic, the experience and practice of employers relative to the use of intoxicants, a number of general tables indicating the capital invested and taxes paid by this traffic, and, finally, a summary of the laws regulating the revenue derived from liquor production and traffic throughout the several states of the Union. A copy of this report may be had by addressing the Commissioner of Labor, Washington, D. C.

**Public Charities in Massachusetts.**—As has already been noted in these columns, many public-spirited citizens of Boston felt that the good work begun by the Commission on State Charitable and Reformatory Institutions would be likely to be carried out only provided there was considerable vigilance on their part, or on that of voluntary associations. A special association has been formed, known as the Association on the Report of the Commission on State Charitable and Reformatory Institutions. The executive committee of this



association issued a report in July, 1898, in which the result of a year's work is summed up as follows:

"The principal changes in our system of Public Charity recommended by the Commission and urged by this association were:—

- The creation of a Department for Children.
- The creation of a State Board of Insanity.
- State care and support of the pauper insane.
- A simplification of the settlement laws, and their modification so as to throw the burden more on the town of residence and less on the state and on other towns.

"The legislation this year, in the line of these recommendations, has been as follows:—

"The State Board of Insanity has been created. The State Board of Lunacy and Charity practically withdrew its opposition of last year, and with such withdrawal the last obstacle in the way of this reform was removed.

"Provision for the state care and support of the pauper insane was not made by the legislature, but one of the duties specifically assigned to the State Board of Insanity is to report by the first Wednesday in January, 1900, a detailed plan for the purpose, thus providing for what must in any case have been the first step toward this needed improvement.'

The statement was also made that the settlement laws had been simplified by a reduction of the time needed for acquiring a settlement from five years to three, but our correspondent in Boston writes that this statement is an error.\*

\*As to the workings of the new settlement law the following report of one of the first cases to come up is of interest and is taken from the *Boston Herald* of October 21, 1898:

"A case has arisen in Salem in the poor department which comes within the new state law relative to 'residence.' It is of interest because this law is a very important one, and a radical change from the old law. Secretary Brown of the Salem poor department makes the following interesting statement:

"By these laws, in order to gain a settlement in the state, a man must live for five years continuously in the same town, without receiving public aid, and pay within five years all taxes assessed upon him for three of the five years. A woman gains it by five years' continuous residence in the same town without public aid.

"Legitimate children take the settlement of the father, if he has any, and of the mother if he has not, and follow their parents' settlement until they arrive at the age of 21 years. Illegitimate children take the settlement of the mother at the time of birth, and cling to that settlement until they are 21, and gain one for themselves.

"Service for one year as an overseer of the poor, as a constable and as a settled ordained minister also gives a man a settlement.

"All settlements gained previously to May 1, 1860, are defeated and lost by the

Some light is thrown upon the curious controversy over the subject of a special department for children in the following paragraph of the report of the executive committee:

"The Children's Department was defeated, but by so narrow a margin that the defeat is not a cause for discouragement. The vote in the Committee on Public Charitable Institutions was five in favor of the measure to six against it. The failure to substitute the bill in the House was by a tie vote. The bill was substituted in the Senate by a majority of four, and defeated in the Senate, June 8, by a majority of four.

"An analysis of the vote shows the defeat to have been a less conclusive one even than would appear upon the face of the figures. It shows that the adverse vote was very largely the result of religious prejudice and of the personal influence of a few officials. The opposition in both of these cases was, we believe, largely the result of misunderstanding, and therefore not likely to be permanent. The Catholic vote was against the bill, seven to naught in the Senate, and about forty-four to three in the House; the vote of the other members standing for the bill, fifteen to twelve in the Senate, and about 106 to sixty-four in the House.\* It is at least reasonable to suppose that the Catholic opposition was in part due to the repeated assertion in the press by a member of the State Board of Lunacy and Charity that the measure formed a part of an alleged anti-Catholic movement. As this assertion is wholly without foundation, it is not probable that it will permanently remain an effective argument. We would call the special attention of our Catholic members to this phase of the situation.

"The prominence of certain localities in the defeat of the measure

present laws. If a person is absent from the state for 10 successive years he loses his settlement.

"Previous to July 1, the laws made and encouraged hereditary pauperism, settlements being claimed generation after generation by descendants of some person who gained a settlement 70 or 100 years before. Now, a woman is legally responsible for the support of the children and can be held to answer to a civil process, while the father can be held to answer to both criminal and civil process.

"These changes have entailed much investigation upon the poor departments of the state to determine the settlement under the changed laws of persons now receiving aid.

"In Salem a marked change is apparent already, many families who for generations have been receiving aid at the expense of Salem now being chargeable to some other town or to the state.

"Perpetual pauperism, hereditary, running through generations of families, has not been an uncommon experience in Puritan Massachusetts under former laws. Now the chain is broken, and May 1, 1860, has been made the date at which a settlement must begin to be acquired."

\* The House vote was on substituting the measure for the adverse report of the committee, that is to say, on the question whether it should be considered.

was very noticeable. The members and senators from one city, in which a member of the board and one of its agents reside, voted unanimously against the bill. The same city contributed three of the adverse speeches and one of the six adverse votes in the committee. It has had a member on the Committee on Public Charities for the past six years—as far back as we have examined the records—and in one of those years it had two. This year's member of the committee from the city in question was absent from practically all of the hearings, but announced that he had promised before his election that he would vote against the bill.

"Of the six adverse votes in the committee, three came from constituencies where members of the board, or one or more of its employees in the department having care of the children reside. Of the remaining three, two were of members who openly favored the bill when the hearings closed, and who both stated that their subsequent vote against it was because the sectarian issue had been raised,—this issue having been injected into the discussion by a member of the State Board after the hearings were over. The remaining adverse vote was of a member who, we are informed by one of his constituents, is a personal friend and relative of an agent of the board.

"There is nothing surprising in this evident powerful effect of members and employees of the board upon their own representatives, still less is its existence a proof of any improper use of influence. But the extent to which the opposition was of this personal nature is encouraging to us, from the fact that such opposition arose largely from misapprehension. We are credibly informed that employees and their friends represented to the members that if the bill went through they would lose their positions, and members of the board have all along treated the movement as a personal affront to them. As it becomes apparent to the members and employees of the board and to others that the movement is not of the sort which they supposed, it is reasonable to believe that this opposition will sensibly diminish.

"It is subject for congratulation and encouragement that so far as the bill was considered upon its merits, apart from personal influence and sympathy and sectarian prejudice, it secured a handsome majority of the vote. Nevertheless, we must not suppose that the campaign of education is now completed. There remain a large number of members of the General Court who voted against the measure because they were not convinced of the existence of a sufficient reason for its passage. The members of this association have much work yet to do in creating such conviction."

It may also be stated that this voluntary association now numbers 1100 members indicating a considerable interest in the community in

seeing the work of the state commission completed. It is also proposed that the organization should be made permanent, and an outline of its future work contains the following items:

"The securing of a special board for children and the consequent relieving of the supervisory board from executive work—thus leaving it free to devote itself to its true function of stimulating and encouraging the work of the state executive boards (which govern the State Almshouse and State Farm, the two reform schools, and the Department for Children) and of the overseers of the poor in our 352 cities and towns, of advising the legislature, and of furnishing the public with facts upon which intelligent opinions can be based—is only a preliminary step to the gradual improvement of our system and the administration of it, in the whole matter of the treatment and prevention of pauperism. Our experience of two years, both in what we have accomplished and in what we have failed so far to accomplish, has conclusively shown the need of such an association as ours in order to bring about this improvement. The influence of the association has been demonstrated, not only by the essential part which it has taken in securing the legislative reforms above enumerated, but also in improvements effected in the care of the state's minor wards on the part of the State Board—improvements which members of the board have admitted to be due to criticisms made on behalf of the association at legislative hearings. On the other hand, the defeat of the Board of Insanity and of the Department for Children last year, and of the Department for Children this year, has shown how difficult it is to secure a reform, however necessary and however strongly supported by those best fitted to judge of its merits, against the opposition of certain officials. In other words, we have seen that needed and obvious improvements have waited until outside agitation has forced them upon official attention, and, secondly, that such outside agitation, if of a temporary nature, is unable to cope with official opposition. A State Board of Charity properly constituted would be a great aid to progressive work and legislation; but a voluntary association must always be valuable in supplementing official action, being much more free to conduct a public agitation than any official body can be, even under the most favorable circumstances."

The association believes that at present it should do all in its power to co-operate with the State Board of Insanity in bringing about the state care and support of the pauper insane, and in continuing to urge the creation of a Department for Children.

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**ABBREVIATIONS.**—In the Index the following abbreviations have been used: *pop.*, principal paper by the person named; *com.*, briefer communication, by the person named; *misc.*, miscellany by person named; *b.*, review of book of which the person named is the author; *p. n.*, personal note on the person named; *r.*, review by the person named,

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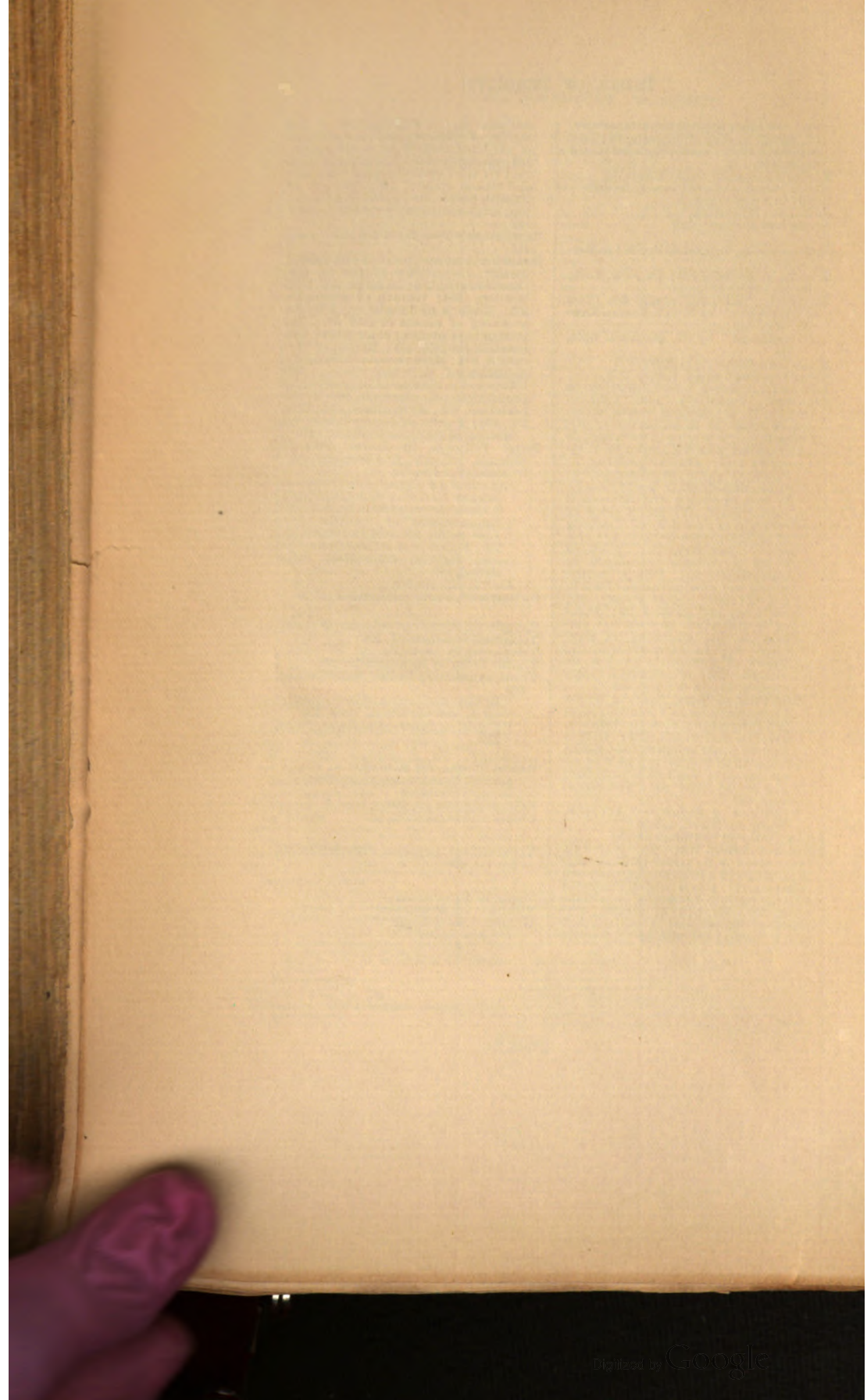
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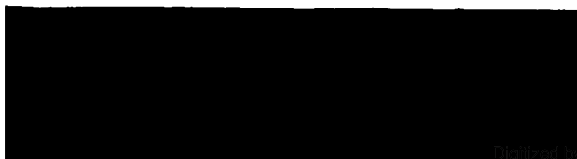
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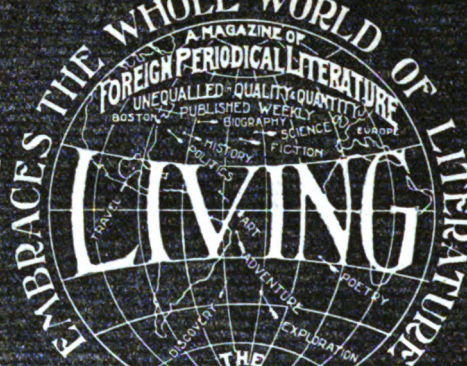
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